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FINAL COMMUNIQUE OF REGULAR SESSION OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Brazzaville ETUMBA in French No 607, 31 Aug 81 pp 1-3

[Excerpts] Called together in regular session by Official Notice No 81/050/PCT [Congolese Labor Party]/PCC [Congolese Communist Party]/SG-BAP dated 10 August 1981, the Central Committee of the Congolese [Labor] Party met in Brazzaville from 24 to 31 August 1981, presided over by its president, Comrade Denis Sassou-Nguesso.

This regular session, the seventh since the historic Third Special Congress of the Congolese Labor Party, was held at a time when the situation in the world is increasingly disturbing. The imperialist forces have decided, as they themselves announced, to go on the offensive at all the hot points on the planet.

In Africa, while the Organization of African Unity tries to find a permanent settlement to the conflict over the Western Sahara through a referendum, thereby recognizing the Saharan people's right to self-determination and independence, South Africa is stepping up its acts of aggression against Angola.

The new situation created in Angola by the racist forces of South Africa has particularly attracted the attention of the Central Committee. As the UN General Assembly session on Namibia approaches, South Africa deemed it fitting to wage a large-scale military operation in order to upset the ratio of forces in the field. This barbarous aggression aroused strong indignation among the Central Committee, which immediately decided to send to Luanda a high-level delegation including two members of the Political Bureau in order to investigate the true situation and assure the Angolan people and the MPLA-Labor Party of the total solidarity of the Congolese people, their party and government. The Central Committee vigorously condemns this attack on the territorial integrity of Angola, an attack which constitutes a dangerous threat to world peace. It believes that the international community must do everything possible to obtain without delay the unconditional withdrawal of the South African troops of invasion. It asks African and Third World nations to bring all their weight to bear to see that the special session of the UN General Assembly on Namibia resolves to impose severe sanctions on South Africa and take additional measures aimed at speeding up the process of Namibia's accession to independence.

Despite the veto of the United States in the Security Council, the Central Committee is convinced that the new act of war of South Africa against the People's

Republic of Angola, already widely condemned by international opinion, will change nothing in the march forward of the Namibian people and the solidarity ceaselessly demonstrated by the courageous Angolan people. Our support for the just cause of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO is total.

After hearing the opening speech by Comrade Denis Sassou-Nguesso and the guidelines set forth, the Central Committee examined the following agenda: 1) adoption of the proposed agenda; 2) adoption of the summary of the sixth meeting of the Central Committee; 3) activity report of the Political Bureau a) report of the Political Bureau b) inspection of execution of the provisional program; 4) report of the party's central control and verification committee; 5) report of the National Planning Council; 6) directives for drafting of the party budget; 7) the status of the Advanced Party School; 8) directives for drafting of the state budget for the first year of the plan; and 9) report of the committee in charge of studying ways of improving work output and productivity.

Concerning the report of the Political Bureau, the Central Committee notes a general improvement in the work style of this body and the activities of its departments.

The Central Committee also notes its satisfaction over the true efforts to carry out the program of the Political Bureau adopted by the Central Committee for the year 1981.

The Central Committee chairman's visits to the different regions ascertained the general mobilization of the rural masses behind party slogans. They also provided an opportunity for noting insufficiencies in the organization, the lack of cadres and the important work remaining to be done.

After approving measures for overseeing party rank-and-file activity, the Central Committee believes that such measures should become systematic and closer together and should be viewed as support for higher bodies in their efforts to continually improve the life of the party and the rank and file.

It was as a result of its search for continual improvement that the Central Committee resolved to set up ad hoc committees. Made up of party members, the committees will operate under the authority of the political commissioners, in total harmony and coordination with the existing structures. These committees must be tried out on a limited basis before becoming widespread.

Brazzaville, Pointe-Noire and the Sangha region will serve as experimental locations.

This formula must be viewed as an expression of our determination to search for ways and means to give the party and its mass organizations a vigor in keeping with the exigencies of our struggle.

Driven by the constant concern to promote particularly active party life in all spheres of activity, the Central Committee asks the Political Bureau to do everything possible to ensure better circulation of information in both directions, between the rank and file and higher organs.

Consequently, the Central Committee aims at a correct, harmonious and uniform interpretation of the slogans and guidelines of the Congolese Labor Party, all in a spirit of unity based on the higher interests of the working masses.

Taking up the subject of supervision of the provisional program, the Central Committee notes with satisfaction that the results registered are a clear improvement over those of the previous quarter.

The most substantial changes have been observed in the financing of the following areas: operation underway, 33.02 percent of the financing compared with 3.51 percent; rank-and-file infrastructure and organization, 11 percent compared with .98 percent; means of decentralization, 26.06 percent compared with 0 percent; and health, 21.23 percent compared with 0 percent.

At the government level, the procedure of releasing credits has clearly improved, resulting in a 37.13-percent increase compared with the first quarter of 1981.

Nevertheless, the Central Committee notes that the operations under self-financing continue to experience delays. Such delays are attributable to the poor organization of work in enterprises. Moreover, these enterprises do not take adequate advantage of the possibilities of local banks.

Physical control shows that the bottlenecks observed last year have been substantially improved.

All difficulties observed are generally surmountable. This has led the Central Committee to ask the government to take the necessary measures in order to improve performance.

The Central Committee then examined the report of the central control and verification committee. It set forth guidelines for the committee to give it greater efficiency in its action.

The Central Committee examined the results of the work of the National Planning Council, which met in Brazzaville from 6 to 10 August 1981.

It should be recalled that before the holding of this democratic forum, the Central Committee, at its April 1981 session, adopted the main guidelines concerning prospects of national development by the year 2000 and the drafting of the 1982-1986 Five-Year Plan, guidelines in keeping with the directives of the Third Special Congress of the Congolese Labor Party.

The Central Committee notes with satisfaction the quality of the work done by the National Planning Council and the support of political and technical cadres for proposals for the application of the national development strategy, with emphasis on the reconquest of the national space.

Structural and secondary projects that were identified must be submitted to careful arbitration during the final phase of drafting the 5-year plan so as to adjust them to financial limitations, the capacity for absorption and completion, coherence and intersectorial and interregional balance.

The Central Committee has therefore studied the planning of the work of the last phase of plan drafting.

Finally, the Central Committee emphasized the urgent need to draft various additional measures and to set up a real propaganda and information apparatus aimed at proper execution of the 1982-1986 Five-Year Plan.

The Central Committee heard a report from the Political Bureau on budget prospects as they appear for the year 1982. Efforts made in recent years aimed at agricultural, industrial and equipment development are apparently not producing the desired results.

After learning the various limitations stemming from our financial debits and from the national and international situation and given the requirements of our political line and economic choices, the Central Committee has opted for a budget ensuring new growth in authorized expenditures for investments, necessary for completion of the 5-year plan and in order to promote self-centered, self-stimulated development.

Nevertheless, the Central Committee insists that the general improvement in our treasury must not slow down the movement toward a vigorous rehabilitation of our public finances. The Congo has not yet emerged from the economic and financial crisis it has suffered in recent years and its political leadership has the duty to take measures enabling it to face the world crisis, whose daily blows we endure.

While ensuring that the government has the means to pursue the effort to improve the execution of programs and development plans, the Central Committee believes that operating expenditures must generally be maintained at their 1981 level.

However, in order to take into account the spirit of sacrifice on the part of civil servants during the most difficult times of our financial crisis, the Central Committee has ensured that the government budget provides for an increase in their income.

Regarding workers in other sectors of production, the Central Committee recalls that an improvement in their income is subordinate to the financial situation of every enterprise. The negotiations of the collective bargaining just authorized by the political leadership should take this directive into account.

Consequently, the Central Committee bears in mind the fact that in the future, if we all mobilize in order to keep the commitments that we have made in carrying out the 1982-1986 Five-Year Plan, other improvements will reward performances and victories.

However, for the time being, the party's highest body is forced to proceed to rational arbitration conferring on every participant his rightful share.

Taking up the eighth point on its agenda, the Central Committee examined the newly proposed statutes for the Advanced Party School with the Central Committee of the Congolese Labor Party.

The question of the revitalization of the party, from top to bottom, in order to enable it to fully and validly assume its role of leading the Congolese Revolution, has always been a prime concern of the Central Committee. One of the solutions to this cardinal question depends on providing the party with a solid structure for organization, administered by well-trained and experienced cadres.

The problem of training is therefore fundamental. That is why the Central Committee has tried to give the Advanced Party School a new orientation regarding the content of training and the recruiting of students, as well as the pedagogical and administrative staffing.

The Advanced Party School must henceforth become a higher institute of social and political sciences, whose training will be in two cycles: the first lasting 4 years in the channels opened up, depending on the needs expressed by the political leadership; and the second consisting of research and lasting a minimum of 3 years.

A period of transition must be observed and thoroughly used for the careful planning of the startup, on solid foundations, of the activities of the Advanced Party School, in keeping with these guidelines.

The question of our country's development prospects over the next 5 years has occupied a large part of its work and the Central Committee, after digesting the conclusions of the recent meeting of the National Planning Council, took up the additional measures that must be taken in order to improve work output and productivity.

The Central Committee reminds the courageous Congolese people that development can never be obtained solely through a massive injection of capital into our country. Development is above all a question of men, who, aware and committed, are determined to pay the price required.

Thanks to the salutary movement of 5 February 1979, our country has restored democratic life and the confidence of all the people, who will henceforth participate effectively in the management of government through all the democratic institutions which they themselves have established.

Thanks to this climate of confidence regained and the unity of the people behind the party, we have been able to overcome numerous difficulties, despite the crisis that continues to shake the world and our country.

It is therefore important that at the level of the political leadership, our ceaselessly reaffirmed determination to qualitatively transform the situation lead us to correct our errors and failings in order to give a better example and better merit the confidence of the people.

At the rank-and-file level, the notion of the public good must permeate the people and guide their behavior.

With a view to improving social conduct, and particularly attitudes toward liberating work, the Central Committee has resolved to take the following measures:

1) the restoration of authority and discipline at all levels: The leaders, whatever their level and whether or not they are members of the party, must realize that if they occupy such positions of responsibility, it is because they enjoy the trust of the political leadership.

They must assume their full responsibilities and make their department operate properly, in keeping with existing regulations.

They are therefore to be held responsible for any laxity that might be found in their department.

2) the updating of the sanction in keeping with existing laws: In our country, no one dares to impose sanctions any longer, often because of demagoguery.

We must restore the disciplinary councils and the courts to try our comrades. We must also update all laws providing for the elimination of the various infractions. Work done well must henceforth be properly rewarded, while work poorly done or not done at all will be severely punished.

Everything possible will be done so that the punishment comes immediately after the fault is committed. Only in this way will the sanction have an educational effect.

3) the restoration of the close connection between wages and work done well and done effectively. The people must understand that wages are the just reward for work done. "Anyone who has not worked does not have the right to receive a wage."

4) the strict application of work schedules: In connection with this question of wages linked to work, one must reconsider the matter of schedules so as to see that workers actually put in their 40 hours a week.

5) the strengthening of safety and control measures so as to help the people learn respect for existing regulations;

6) better organization of channels of distribution of directives emanating from the political leadership;

7) systematized follow-up of cadres; and

8) an intensification of the continuing work of education and propaganda.

Cadres at all levels must teach by their example.

These directives must be implemented by the government before startup of the 5-year plan.

In conclusion, the Central Committee notes with satisfaction the normal march of institutions and respect for the directives of the Third Special Congress and observes that the crisis still affects us. Consequently, it issues a strong appeal to the Congolese people to ask them to carry out the transitional program in its entirety in order to embark upon the 5-year plan with greater chances of success.

Brazzaville, 31 August 1981

11,464

CSO: 4719/379

PHENOMENON OF SPREAD OF ISLAM AFFECTS COUNTRY

Libreville L'UNION in French 5-6 Sep 81 p 7

[Article by Emile Boulingui Koumba: "Is Islam Progressing in Gabon?"]

[Excerpt] The progression of the Islamic phenomenon on the black continent, which today numbers more than 100 million faithful, is also affecting Gabon, a country that was animist before becoming Christianized during the colonial period.

Indeed, Gabon today numbers between 35,000 and 40,000 Muslims, both foreign and Gabonese, or 0.5 percent [as published] of the population. Every month, somewhere in the country, young people and adults, women and children embrace the religion of Allah, which was unknown to us before the influx of immigrant workers from Mali, Senegal, Morocco, etc.

The Muslim World League, aware of the interest of the Gabonese toward Islam and of the affluence of African Muslims, opened an office in Libreville in 1975. It is managed by the head of the Muslim community, El Hadj Mamadou Sow.

This league supervises the activities in the mosques, propaganda and the adherence of new converts. It also deals with the teaching of the Koran in the religious schools affiliated with the mosques of the capital.

In order to propagate the teachings of the Prophet, religious experts regularly visit Gabon at the time of Ramadan to counsel and advise the Gabonese faithful. Four Egyptian sheikhs were here recently; their expenses had been paid by the Qatar and Egyptian governments. They were Abdel Asim, Zaki, Ahmed Boussati and Mohamed Riffat.

They daily visited the mosques of the capital, reciting verses from the Koran, commenting on the Prophet's writings and encouraging the faithful to respect the precepts of Islam.

The spread of the Muslim religion throughout the world is one of the salient points of contemporary history. This expansion has not only a political and religious character, but also a cultural and artistic aspect. Moreover, it is not limited to the Arab peoples, but reaches others as well in other continents, among which sub-Saharan Africa. It is meeting with astonishing success at the present time--and Gabon is experiencing the phenomenon--despite the atheist ideologies derived from Marxism-Leninism. In some people's view, Islam constitutes the ideal antidote to communism.

AFRICAN, SENE GAMBIAN UNITY URGED

Banjul THE GAMBIAN in English 9 Sep 81 pp 2, 3

[Text] At a time when Europe is consolidating her economic power--E. E. C. AMERICA and ASIA joined in a marriage to guarantee the survival of capitalism on which both countries depend, both western and eastern Europe being mindful of the defence of their sovereignty founded the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and the WARSAW Pact, Africans living in the richest booty in the world with a colonial history of over three centuries and still being exploited by Imperialist Vampires, have the most tangible reasons for consolidating their relations for the common good of the sub region notwithstanding the fact that the defence of our territorial integrity and sovereignty is the only guarantee of our independence on which our economic survival depends.

It was therefore not accidental but rather the imperative need to consolidate our economic forces and the defence of our sovereignty and territorial integrity that brought about the idea of merging two inextricably bound sister countries into a Confederation enhancing the welfare and prosperity of their peoples.

The Gambia sandwiched in Senegal stands as a test case to prove an inevitable union serving as an example to the rest of Africa. Alas our long cherished dream of a continental union is now beginning to come true along the lines of regional groupings a step in the right direction towards African Unity.

Why the risk? If in unity lies our salvation, why step on the virtues of Unity?

The consolidation of The Gambian's relationship with Senegal crystalising into a Sene Gambian Confederation give much hope for a meaningful development in which the welfare and prosperity of the Sene Gambian Citizen will be supreme.

The citizens of Senegal and The Gambia must give their fullest support to President Abdou Jooof and President Alhaji Sir Dawda Kairaba Jawara whose courageous steps in policy and prudent leadership has created the opportunities which if fully exploited will guarantee the survival of democracy in a Sene Gambia capable of providing the essentials for stability and progress within the context of a Confederation.

CSO: 4700/490

EXECUTION OF REBELS ADVOCATED

Banjul THE GAMBIA OUTLOOK in English 7 Sep 81 pp 1, 2

[Article: "The Die Is Cast"]

[Text] Many a mind, many a heart would recall the untimely death of a distinguished and illustrious son and a man whose death made him a hero in the world of heroes, the late Commander J. E. Mahoney, of Blessed Memory. It was on the 27th day of October, 1980, that he was maliciously, wilfully and brutally murdered by Mustapha Danso at the Field Force Depot, Bakau. His assassin (Mustapha Danso) was charged for the murder and was found guilty by the Supreme Court, which conviction and sentence was upheld by The Gambia Court of Appeal, with the death penalty by hanging. Everyone felt that this was retributive justice. But was it true that the act of murder was provocative, diminished responsibility, auditory hallucinations, tribalistic or PREMEDITATED?

Taking a turn in the page, the events and circumstances of the 30th July, 1981 is an open manifestation that the death of the late Commander Mahoney was premeditated and eliminating. It occurred in closing a chapter in fulfillment of the promise made to convicted prisoner Mustapha Danso for him to kill and when the 'Coup' is successful, he would be released from prison. It is therefore appropriate in saying that the rebellion of 30th July was a show piece of man's inhumanity to man; it was a coup of kill your enemy and get rich and it was a coup that brought devastating destruction to the Gambian Nation and people. We in The Gambia have always been regarded and mirrored as loving, peaceful and hospitable. I believe that it is through these fundamental attributes based on His Excellency's cardinal Principles of the respect of human rights that many of us today have been sustained and saved from this monstrous catastrophe.

While terror reigned in the hearts of many, fear of victimization, fear of intimidation, fear of losing the rights and privileges enshrined in the rules of democracy; while many hearts harboured fear of losing one of Africa's greatest peace loving leaders, the guns of the rebels continued spitting fire, rancour and venom. The atmosphere became dead and the air was polluted with the smell of death, death death! In the final analysis the Commander of the armed forces of the Republic of The Gambia. The illustrious and indefatigable Alhaji Sir Dawda Kairaba Jawara, was soon heard over BBC radio that he was coming home to restore peace and order. Just at the time when certain opportunist elements used the rebel's radio proclaiming their support for the rebels and denouncing the Government of Alhaji Sir Dawda, events took a different turn. The voice of Alhaji Sir Dawda

was soon heard over radio Syd appealing to the rebels to give up their struggle and surrender honourably. But what was the magic behind Alhaji Sir Dawda's return to The Gambia? Now is the moment to pay tribute to Alhaji Sir Dawda for his extreme wisdom and sensitivity for the defence pact signed between the Republic of Senegal and the Republic of The Gambia which relieved us all from the clutches of power hungry rebels and their acts of tryanny.

To the President of the Republic of Senegal, His Excellency President Abdou Diouf, we honour you and the people of Senegal for your prompt and timely assistance and we magnify you for the act of loving your neighbour as yourself. Indeed, the affinity between the two Nations is widely renowned. Vive Sene-Gambia.

To the Senegalese soldiers, we thank and exult you for your gallant performances to have crushed the rebellion although the operation was time consuming. This question of time factor could be attributed and identified by too many factors i. e., the lives of hostages, residential surroundings etc. Notwithstanding-- to the dead soldiers we say honour to their memory and peace to their graves.

What is [word missing] or should be the fate of the rebels? These are the questions which stand forefront in the minds and hearts of patriotic Gambians and observers alike. It does not need a referendum for this challenging issue. The rebels should be killed. Much as one has infinite and absolute regard and respect for human rights, one has to evaluate the circumstances surrounding the situation. The climate of opinion demands that it is the nation's clarion call that the rebels be killed if ENOUGH IS ENOUGH as proclaimed by the rebels' leader.

It is ancient but [word missing] principle that an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. Admittedly, the act of the rebels was most unconstitutional and damaging to the morale and fundamental principle of human rights. Many a home have suffered from the pangs of cruel and untimely death and it was only by divine providence that the amiable consort and children of His Excellency, our august Head of State, were saved (as they were among the covetous hostages).

The nation demands that equal justice be meted out and that the rebels be equally killed to avoid another Mustapha Danso episode while serving his sentence in prison. YES! IF RIGHT IS RIGHT, THAN WRONG MUST BE NO MAN'S RIGHT.

CSO: 4/00/490

MILITARY RECRUITMENT, TRAINING TO BE INCREASED

Banjul THE GAMBIAN in English 9 Sep 81 p 1

[Text] The international response to aid The Gambia in her strive for national reconstruction confirms that in a world of inderdependency, The Gambia can fully hope to heal, through assistance from friendly countries the economic wounds so viciously inflected by the enemies of progress.

With fate in international relations and good neighbourliness His Excellency The President Alhaji Sir Dawda Kairaba Jawara has further strengthened the belief that with The Gambia's record in the international community, government would not only successfully reconstruct the economy but would strive to achieve higher goals in the national development.

The reasons for such timely and helpful assistance from all over the world can only be found in our policy of Friends To All And Enemy To None. Throughout the eighteen years of our pc t colonial history, The Gambia Government has pursued a well balanced policy of non intervention in the internal affairs of other nations and in so doing has earned President Alhaji Sir Dawda Kairaba Jawara the enviable role of a Peace Maker, availing himself to the duty call to mending the nets of peace in the seas of trouble. Wherever and whenever the occasion arised to fulfill our role in international affairs, our policy of positive neutrality and non alignment have always been our guide line, fully endorsed by our role in promoting good international relations particularly in the sub region. The generous assistance received so far can be attributed to the good natured and peacefulness of Gambians but more so to the cautious and able leadership of His Excellency The President. The Gambians must therefore cease every available opportunity to contribute meaningfully towards national reconstruction and restoration of peace Law and Order.

The President Alhaji Sir Dawda Kairaba Jawara said during his tour of the Provinces that the recent abortive rebellion in The Gambia would teach Gambians a useful lesson. His Excellency said from now on Gambians will be able to distinguish between peace and upheaval, and also be able to contribute positively to the development of the country and safeguard the welfare of all Gambians.

During his provincial tour the President revealed that young and able-bodied Gambians would soon be called upon to enlist in a new and better trained armed force to defend and protect the territorial integrity of the Gambia and Senegal. He said those who enjoy comfort in peace time and utilise the amenities that the

country places at their disposal, should be ready to lay down their lives in defence of the country. He reassured the Villagers that he will never abdicate the responsibilities entrusted to him by the majority of Gambians. He pledged to always observe the rules of Law and fair play and to uphold the concept of democracy.

Government officials and citizens alike are making all efforts to join hands with personnel from various donor countries to speed up the process to return to normal life. Indeed the response from both private and Public sectors has been most encouraging. In view of the setback in government's plans for economic progress His Excellency urged the people to endouble their efforts in the task of nation building.

Our Gratitude is herein extended to the Generous donor Countries and all those without whose prayers and moral support our task of National Reconstruction would have been for more difficult. In view of the gravity of our situation foreign aid must be a supplement to the individual and collective efforts of Gambians.

CSO: 4700/490

TIES-WITH-ISRAEL CONTROVERSY CONTINUES

Accra DAILY GRAPHIC in English 26 Aug 81 p 3

[Article by Yaw Sarfo Darko]

[Text] **GHANA broke off diplomatic relations with Israel in 1973. This came about when the O.A.U. of which Ghana is a leading member, threw its weight behind the Arabs in their war with Israel that same year. Perhaps the O.A.U., called on its members to sever relations with Israel because Egypt, a member state of the O.A.U., was the bitterest enemy of Israel and needed the support of all African countries.**

The world has witnessed a dramatic turn in the relations between Egypt, who until lately seemed to be the spokesman for the Arab countries, and Israel. In 1978 through the initiative of the U.S.A., Egypt and Israel signed a peace treaty at Camp David in the U.S.A. Since then the two previous enemies who did not see eye to eye, have established diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level.

The establishment of relations between Egypt and Israel as a result of the Camp David peace accord,

has made people who followed the Ghana-Israel relations to question the wisdom is still maintaining the boycott of Israel.

Those who favour the establishment of relations with Israel argue from two main points. Firstly, they look at the help Ghana got from Israel especially in agriculture. Secondly, they look at the sort of benefit which Ghana has got from the Arabs since it broke off with Israel.

Analysing the first point critically, one would realise that Ghana benefited a lot from Israel in her agricultural programmes, especially in the training of personnel. Agricultural experts were trained in Israel to come and occupy certain key positions in the agricultural sector of the economy. Moreover, these personnel who studied in Israel were under the Israeli government scholarships. Also most of our Agricultural Programmes had failed because we lack proper technical advice, but when the Israelis were with us we were able to make some headway.

Another project worthy of note which was constructed under the technical advice of Israel is the Kpong-Accra pipeline and the Accra Central Sewerage System.

When we try to examine the sort of help Ghana gains from the Arabs for breaking diplomatic relations with Israel, one can see that all Ghana was expecting from the Arab

world was the pumping of their oil money into development projects in Ghana.

But to our dismay, hardly has any Arab nation given any substantial loan to Ghana. We can point it out that it is recently that the Saudi Arabian government agreed to give a loan to finance the Kpong hydro-electric project.

At the moment, Ghana faces oil crisis as a result of the mounting price of crude oil. She cannot settle her oil bills promptly, what she expected of the Arab oil producing countries was the supply of crude oil on long term credit basis. The facility has not been given to Ghana and this makes it difficult to appreciate the friendship with the Arabs.

Also why should we continue to sever relations with Israel whereas the previous two enemies themselves have come to a compromise and have established relations up to ambassadorial level? I think it is high time the government tried to re-establish relations with Israel, for the establishment of relations with Israel will be a stepping stone to our economic recovery.

Yaw Sarfo Darko
Akim Asene-Oda

PAPER BELIEVES CEDI DEVALUATION UNWISE

Accra DAILY GRAPHIC in English 24 Aug 81 p 2

[Editorial: "Devaluation Not the Answer"]

[Text] **"DEVALUATION, in theory, is meant to be the panacea to a country's persistent and secular balance of payments problems."** **"Only a rate of exchange in excess of C10 to a dollar will save the cocoa industry or C18 will boost textile exports or C25 can raise the timber industry, C40 will revive the mines; the unofficial rate of exchange is C80 to a pound sterling so why don't we confirm that in a devaluation."**

These are the headlights of the arguments of proponents for devaluation. Yet, they say, devaluation is mainly intended to boost the export of non-traditional exports (i.e. not cocoa, timber and minerals). What the non-traditional exports are in this country, which devaluation can boost, we are yet to see. The Export Promotion Council and Export Promotion Company have been in existence for several years yet they have not made any headway.

The 'Graphic' shares the view that the proponents are more theoretical than practical and ignore completely, the cost to the economy in terms of economic considerations as well as social and political repercussions. For example in a situation where the government, even at current 'undervalued' rates of exchange, cannot reduce its expenditure, how can it be expected to meet the increased costs involved in a devaluation?

All our factories depend on imported raw materials. Even the pre-devaluation cost of raw material imports cannot compete favourably on the international markets, how can we expect items produced on post-devaluation cost

structures to be competitively priced for an international market?

The theories being propounded seem to ignore the effect of the rise in prices inherent in a devaluation on the people whom it is meant to save. From current proposals, the magnitude of any devaluation has to be huge to achieve the results that are anticipated. That will generally raise prices so high that employers, including government itself, in an attempt to reduce cost, will lay off staff and the social consequences are obvious.

The political repercussions of past experiences of devaluation are still fresh and cannot be taken lightly when we are all agreed in wanting to establish a stable democracy.

The 'Graphic' thinks that devaluation now is a politically unwise decision and economically unviable. We think that our economic problems are not insurmountable; because of certain malfunctions that have been created by ourselves and we are the only people who can solve them.

For as long as our institutions responsible for our fiscal and monetary policies remain in the mess that they are, no amount of policy recommendation such as devaluation would do the trick. There is not an adequate data base for decision-making so how can we even be sure that the recommendation for devaluation has been thoroughly studied or that the implementing authorities will be able to implement and monitor to achieve results.

This blanket policy, supposedly redemptive, is certainly not acceptable and we should go ahead and do exactly what will give us what we want. If it is imports we want to curb, there are other methods that can achieve that. If it is more money we want to give to the export sector for constant returns what stops the central bank from diverting its funds from financing unproductive budgetary deficits into directly financing the export sectors?

U. S., WEST WARNED TO KEEP HANDS OFF AFRICA

Accra DAILY GRAPHIC in English 22 Aug 81 p 5

[Article by Samuel Dadzie]

[Text] WITH the dramatic siege of the West African state of Gambia (Banjul) just over, the whole world has expressed with a sigh of relief, the gallant efforts put in by the Senegalese troops to foil the coup attempt by 'Marxist' rebels.

From what had been happening, only Gambians can be in the position to judge whether the rebellion was a justified cause of the Gambian people against an oppressive regime or otherwise, for during the house cleaning exercise of the AFRC regime, hails of protests poured in from all corners of the globe against the exercise, but Ghanaians, having acknowledged the yeoman's efforts of the AFRC, urged the cleaning exercise on.

Western media have thrown dust into the eyes of the world and Africa especially to believe that the Gambian rebellion was crushed solely by the Senegalese troops.

In terms of reality, Africa has been invaded by external forces but this time under the pretext of Senegalese intervention in Gambia.

The strategic position of the Gambia serves the overall interest of the Western world; also in view of the fact that over 200 lives (mostly diplomats from the Western world) were endangered who could have thought that Britain, America, France and West Germany would not hesitate to send in commandos to maintain the status quo. America and its western allies, against any Soviet access to where their interest lies quickly sent commandos to supplement the efforts of the Senegalese troops. Later America sent in a congratulatory note to the Senegalese government for what the State Department termed "courage, coolness and efficiency" of the Senegalese armed forces in putting down the Gambian rebellion.

Quite recently, America has guaranteed to give military assistance to any African

state that wants to resist the so called Libyan expansionism. This open assertion of the U.S. is a direct insult to the entire security of Africa, yet there is complete silence over the issue.

It is however very surprising that no African leader has raised any objection to such atrocious interventions in Africa which have turned the continent into a chess-board of international politics.

For far too long America and its western allies have taken Africa for a ride not mentioning the atrocious aid to Racist South Africa. This should be stopped in the overall interest of peace in the world and lasting stability in Africa.

If the U.S. wants to maintain its good links with Black Africa, then it should learn to keep its tentacles off the continent of Africa.

BRIEFS

CANDIDATE FOR MERGED PARTIES--Professor Kwaku G. Folson, Pro-Vice Chancellor of the University of Ghana Legon, has put himself up for the electoral college election of a leader for the merged political parties scheduled for September 26. In a letter to members of the national executive of the party, its leader and officers, Prof Folson said that he was by the letter "putting myself forward for consideration by the national executive and the party congress as one of the candidates to be presented by the PFP to the electoral college." It said the disadvantage in presenting more than one candidate "is that the PFP vote may then be split and the nomination lost to another party. "But the decision whether we should have block-voting or not should be a tactical one. If we have a popular candidate and the other parties are prepared to have a free vote, we should also have a free vote," the letter said. "This, indeed, has the advantage that the candidate ultimately chosen will be most likely to reflect popular opinion and will have the best chance to defeat the People's National Party (PNP) in 1983," he added. [Excerpt] [Accra DAILY GRAPHIC in English 27 Aug 81 pp 1, 5]

TUC AGAINST EXPATRIATE INFLUX--The Trades Union Congress has declared its opposition to a massive infusion of expatriates into state enterprises as a solution to their declining performance. In reaction to the call by a section of the public for the employment of expatriates to manage state affairs, the TUC noted that many other factors are responsible for the decline in production, productivity and profitability of the state enterprises. A release issued by the congress in Accra yesterday said further that a committee had, therefore, been appointed to undertake a critical study of the economic viability of state enterprises and make appropriate recommendations on such related issues. Such issues include the choice of top management and management boards, the adequacy or otherwise of initial capitalization. Others are the provision of foreign exchange and needed inputs. The rest are the siting of projects, the problems of skilled manpower development as well as the question of effective supervision and control. [Text] [Accra DAILY GRAPHIC in English 22 Aug 81 p 8]

WOMEN'S BANK PLANNED--A banking organization is to be set up in the country soon to help give women in small scale industries legal backing to enable them to utilize the facilities available to the financial institutions to expand their businesses. To this end, a working technical committee has been set up by the Ghana Association of Women in Business and Professions to draw up a programme for the project. The establishment of the institution stems from similar ones established in other countries through the efforts of the World Women's Bank, an international

organization based in the United States, which aims at creating the proper atmosphere to enable women get financial assistance in their businesses. At a meeting of the Association of Professional Women and those in business in Accra at the weekend, the president, Mrs Esther Ocloo, announced that since July, the association "has been taking the necessary steps to form the institution in Ghana." The bank will, however, not operate like a commercial bank which will in itself grant loans, she explained, but rather serve as guarantor for women who need loans. [Text] [Accra DAILY GRAPHIC in English 24 Aug 81 p 5]

CHURCH UNION POSTPONED--Inauguration of the proposed union of the Presbyterian, Methodist and Evangelical Presbyterian churches has been postponed from next year to 1986. This was disclosed to newsmen by Rev J. K. Osae Akoanor, Publicity Officer of the Methodist Church of Ghana after the closing session of a ten-day conference of the church at Cape Coast yesterday. Rev Osae Akoanor explained that the postponement is to enable the three churches to educate their members fully on the proposed union. He revealed that for the first time, the Methodist Church is to accept women as pastors in its ministry. Rt Rev Samuel Essamuah was re-elected president of the Church with Mr I. K. Agyeman as Vice-President, Rev Joseph Teckyi-Amoah, caplain of the Mfantsipim Secondary School is the secretary. [Text] [Accra DAILY GRAPHIC in English 28 Aug 81 p 1]

CSO: 4700/502

CIVIL AVIATION MEETING IN NAIROBI ENDS

Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 29 Aug 81 p 3

[Text] The 11th Commonwealth Air Transport Council meeting in Nairobi ended yesterday.

Addressing the meeting, the Kenyan delegate, Mr. Poko Mathenge, said a shortage of technicians was hampering the maintenance and installation of civil aviation equipment in Kenya.

And low pay scales in the Directorate of Civil Aviation were causing a serious brain drain in the organisation.

There was now a shortage of technicians and most of them had "very limited exposure to advanced systems," he said.

Mr. Mathenge, telecommunications officer (planning) in the directorate, said only a limited number of technicians could be released to attend advanced courses in electronics and telecommunications.

Therefore, he added, they "lack confidence required to competently instal and maintain aviation facilities". This reduced efficiency in maintaining some systems, he said.

"Some of the few trained and experienced personnel usually leave the department for the private sector where the remuneration is higher," Mr. Mathenge said.

Problems

In his paper on maintenance problems, he said some of these arose from breakdown of or fluctuations in the main power supply. He also expressed concern over delays in providing quality communication links in some parts of Kenya, which, he said, delayed the expansion of some projects, especially in the field of very High Frequency (VHF) systems.

The directorate of civil aviation has taken steps to protect the department from unscrupulous manufacturers and suppliers, he said.

The department is reviewing all technical characteristics and confidential reports from other users regarding the equipment reliability and the integrity of the suppliers. Mr. Mathenge added.

He said the department has been recruiting higher calibre technical staff and retaining its personnel for the last two years.

Mr. Mathenge urged the Council to assist members in setting up viable research groups for collection, processing and dissemination of technical data.

"There should also be a free exchange of confidential information among members regarding their past experiences," he suggested.

This, he said, would enhance understanding of the technical problems facing the industry, especially in Africa where propagation studies and the effects of the environment to system performance have not been carried out.

CSO: 4700/501

BETTER LAND POLICY IS NEEDED

Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 31 Aug 81 p 6

[Article by G.-C. M. Mutiso]

[Text] IN the National Livestock Development Policy paper prepared by the Ministry of Livestock Development and issued in June 1980 and the Sessional Paper No. 4 of 1981 on National Food Policy there is very little detailed discussion on how land policy affects livestock production.

The recently held National Food Policy seminar did recognise as much and it suggested that a land policy for the livestock areas is urgently needed.

The basic thrust of national livestock policy is that there should evolve a stratified system which would be able to move the immatures from the dry arid districts into the fattening areas of much wetter parts of the country. That assumption is as old as the colonial livestock trading networks which the initial settler ranchers established. They looked for cattle initially in the Maasai areas but from the Twenties on, they increasingly sought them in districts like Samburu, Isiolo, Garissa, West Pokot, Kitui and Tana River.

Ultimately the idea that there were cattle reserves in the pastoral districts became the official dogma of agriculturalists in the Sixties. The irony of it is that it ignored all that had been evolved as a very powerful national land ownership system.

Land consolidation which had started in the Fifties has spawned very strong national beliefs that the only acceptable way to hold land is to individualise it. This assumption has since then been backed by a national credit system which is mainly based on

owning land. Of course it is not all land, but land which has title which is useful in the credit market.

As far as most of the range districts are concerned the thinking has been that the individualisation of land holding had not developed well enough to assume that it would later be possible to get adjudication in terms of individual tenure.

The irony of this law was that it assumed that the land pressures obtaining nationally would not obtain in pastoral districts. Now it is recognised that this assumption was fallacious.

In Narok District where group ranches were created for ranching, some of the members have been pressing to be allowed to become cultivators. In fact, they have gone ahead and become just that within the group ranch on already individualised process of land.

Another land problem is found where the government assumes there are state lands but which have already been individualised for some time. This is a real problem in the so-called eastern Kitui statelands, in Tana River and to some extent also in parts of South Nyanza, Meru, Embu, Taita-Taveta and other parts scheduled to become either group ranches or company ranches.

Since the livestock system that has been developed in the country is essentially land extensive problems arise when company or group ranches are planned. The plans do not anticipate that individuals will become owners of the land.

This perception and use of land stands in the way of planning proper land use in the areas as well as linking the economic activities in those areas to the national credit system. Those

without individual titles cannot borrow in the normal financial markets.

Yet since they are only interested in their bit of land, they do not care if they increase their herds at the expense of the common resources, land and forage. This is the tragedy of the commonage.

Perhaps the way to break this bind in policy *within the confines of national beliefs* is to speed up the land adjudication process which has been moving at a snail's speed. All land in the semi-arid and marginal districts should be adjudicated to the individuals who now hold it. This should be done irrespective of the strictures of law saying that the county councils hold it in trust or group ranches hold it or any other intermediate arguments.

Such adjudication would lead to individuals being title holders. They can, then, like their counterparts in the wetter regions, expand the industry on their own. They could even bring about the creation of extensive ranches composed of the individual owners and development of a land intensive ranching technology in these areas.

MOI'S MISSION TO PARIS IS DESCRIBED AS VITAL

Nairobi THE STANDARD in English 1 Sep 81 p 4

[Editorial]

[Text] HIS EXCELLENCY President Daniel arap Moi, in his capacity as Chairman of the Organisation for African Unity, is in Paris on a mission of great importance for nearly half the countries on the continent.

During his visit to France, President Moi will address the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries (LDCs) wearing his O.A.U. hat.

Some 31 nations are classified within the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (Unesco) as L.D.C.s. Of these 21 are in Africa, eight in Asia in addition to Haiti in the Caribbean and Samoa in Oceania. Their total population is 280 million, or roughly 12 per cent of the overall Third World figure.

The crucial issue before the conference is how the industrialised world — at least the Western world — could help these countries escape from the stranglehold that is underdevelopment.

With the present recession in the world, development aid is dwindling even from countries that were previously committed to helping the Third World open up its vast potential through scientific, educational and technological development, at the same time providing new markets for industrial goods.

There are also differences amongst the industrialised nations as to the best approach to providing aid to the Third World. Some like the United States would like to see less aid being channelled through multilateral agencies — mostly those of the U.N. — and more of it going through bilateral arrangements which are tied to American strategic interests.

Others like France have talked of a "Planetary New Deal" to narrow the gap between the rich and the poor nations, with the Third World progress boosting Western exports and thus breaking the international economic stalemate.

President Moi will no doubt impress on the conference his declared commitment to championing what he regards as the real issues for Africa's future prosperity.

Of top priority among these is ensuring that Africa's resources are exploited for the benefit of the Africans. In this respect the international community must get round to working out commodity prices of primary products, that are fair to the producers.

Had Africa been getting a fair deal from consumer countries for her coffee, tea, cocoa, rubber, timber and copper, to name a few commodities, 21 of her states would not be amongst the L.D.C.s.

It is only natural that President Moi and his delegation will take the opportunity of being in Paris, to review with their French counterparts the excellent relations existing between France and Kenya.

The next four days will serve well the interests of Africa and of Kenya, through the deliberations that President Moi will engage in while in Paris.

SOVIETS SHOULD ACCEPT DEFEAT IN AFGHANISTAN

Nairobi THE STANDARD in English 31 Aug 81 p 4

[Editorial]

[Text]

It now looks as if the Soviet Union bit off more than it could chew, when it decided to directly intervene in the internal affairs of Afghanistan by sending in troops last year.

The Kremlin is now looking for all possible ways to extricate itself from the situation without losing face, in the eyes of both the world and the Soviet public.

In the latest move, the Soviet Union promised yesterday that it would withdraw its troops from Afghanistan if the country's southern neighbours, Iran and Pakistan, accepted new settlement proposals put forward by the Russian-backed regime of Babrak Karmal.

The proposals have obviously been written in Moscow and are therefore more Russian than Afghan. They promise a full political solution of the Afghan crisis as long as Iran and Pakistan accept Kabul's demand that they end "armed interference in Afghan affairs".

"Armed interference" by Iran and Pakistan — when this occurred is not known — is put forward as "the reasons which compelled it (Afghanistan) to request our country for the introduction of a limited Soviet military contingent".

According to the Communist Party daily *Pravda*, in Moscow, "conditions" would have arisen for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and the crisis which has been brought about in one of the areas of South-West Asia through imperialism would have been eliminated".

The other element in the proposals is Afghan readiness to hold trilateral talks with Iran and Pakistan on conditions for a Soviet withdrawal.

Few people outside the Kremlin can understand such reasoning. First of all, it is difficult to see exactly where Iran and Pakistan come in, apart from sharing common borders with Afghanistan and having to be reluctant hosts to Afghans in their thousands, who have had to flee from Soviet aggression against their country.

The crisis in Afghanistan is simply that of a people rebelling against a government and a political system imposed on them by a powerful neighbour

that has designs of her own in geopolitical terms.

Having seen that the regime that they had imposed was tottering and was likely to fall at any time, the Soviet Union decided to send in an occupying force.

Since then it has been one long disaster for the Russians. Despite superior weapons, the Soviet troops have not been able to score what they would consider to be a decisive victory in the country.

Despite atrocities, and at times the use of chemical warfare, Afghan nationalists have fought the Russians to a standstill — using outdated rifles and retreating to their mountain sanctuaries.

Although the Russians have infiltrated into every sphere of Afghan life and entered the civil administration, they have failed to win the Afghans' hearts or dent the people's ardent nationalism and independent spirit.

Internationally, the Soviet Union has suffered one of its worst public relations defeats in recent years. Countries which might have once turned a blind eye to Russia's interference in other countries' affairs, strongly condemned her.

Judging from the manipulation of the news fed to the Soviet public, things are not much better at home. The Afghan battlefield casualties are mounting everyday.

What the Soviet people were told would be a short campaign to assist a friendly neighbour being harassed by "imperialists", has turned out to be a long drawn out conflict with no end in sight. Soviet nationals, especially the large minority in Soviet Asia with ethnic affinities to the Afghans, must be getting edgy.

Instead of trying to drag other countries into the issue, the Soviet Union should accept the inevitable. Just like other would-be conquerors have discovered through the centuries, Afghanistan is too independent to be subdued.

The Soviets rode into the country in columns of tanks, expecting an easy submission. They should accept that they have to limp back across the border in defeat.

BRIEFS

DROP IN TEXTILE PRODUCTION--Both the production and consumption of selected industrial commodities has declined since the beginning of this year, according to the latest figures published by Government authorities. Textile fabric production has come down from over 5,000 million square metres to around 4,235 million square metres between January and April this year. Production of paints has plummeted from almost 900,000 to 200,000 litres from January to April. Similarly, disinfectants have come down from 51,000 to 12,000 litres in the same period. Cement production has slid down from 107,000 metric tons in January this year to less than 100,000 metric tons a month later. The estimates consumption of cement shows an even more dramatic decline as it had come down to 40,000 metric tons by this April. From almost 35,000 metric tons, sugar production plummeted down to around 12,000 between January and April this year. Sugar consumption also slowed down from 17,500 tons to 9,500 tons by April. Wheat flour production came down from over 17 million tons in January this year to around 15.5 million tons in March. Consumption of wheat flour also showed a decrease down to 14.4 million tons in April. Soap production fell from almost 900 tons in January to 700 tons by April. However, in February, soap production suddenly shot up to 1,325 tons. [Kul Bhushan] [Text][Nairobi THE STANDARD in English 1 Sep 81 p 8]

AIRCRAFT KEROSENE FOR WANANCHI--President Moi yesterday directed that 30 per cent of all dual-purpose kerosene used by light aircraft be diverted for domestic consumption. He said: "I have directed the Energy Minister to see to it that the fuel is distributed fairly, and Mr. Kibaki (the Vice-President) will supervise this." The President said enough fuel, for all purposes, was available in the country. Addressing wananchi at Jomo Kenyatta International Airport before his departure for Paris, President Moi said the country currently had 15,644 tons of petrol, of which 5,000 tons was in the pipeline. He added that 12,000 tons of diesel was in the refinery, 11,000 tons in the pipeline and 5,000 at the terminals. "On paraffin, I have told the Energy Minister that 30 per cent of it used by light aircraft be distributed to wananchi and the 70 per cent used by the planes," the President said. He said there was also enough food in the country, adding that people should consume it carefully. [Excerpt] [Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 1 Sep 81 p 1]

MUSLIMS ON SUCCESSION LAW--Kenya Muslims are planning to seek an organised audience with President Daniel arap Moi over the new succession law. The chairman of the Supreme Council of Kenya Muslims, Mr. Kassim Mwamzandi, said the new law undermined a section of the Holy Koran dealing with succession. Mr. Mwamzandi, who is also an Assistant Minister for Energy, read out the section to newsmen at a Press conference yesterday. He said Muslims would seek for an amendment of Section V of the new law,

which has sparked off heated opposition from the Muslim community. Muslims wanted an amendment which would give less devout Muslims a free hand to either follow the succession law or the Koran (the Islamic Law), he said. Mr. Mwamzandi disclosed his council was in the process of organising a conference for all Muslim organisations, and Muslim leaders to discuss an organised approach to the problem. The conference is scheduled for October 4. "The law which requires every Kenyan to make a will over his estate or else his property would be governed by the new law, is suggesting an amendment of the Holy Koran given by God," Mr. Mwamzandi said. He added his council was optimistic that the President would give them an audience, because the President, respected religion. Muslims, he said, had made a lot of noise over the anti-Islamic Law and it "appears their objections were not taken into account". Mr. Mwamzandi appealed to the Muslim community not to panic as their council was making every effort to secure a peaceful settlement. The Supreme Council of Kenya Muslims, Mr. Mwamzandi said, was loyal to President Moi, his Government and the ruling party Kanu and would remain so. [Text] [Nairobi THE STANDARD in English 29 Aug 81 p 5]

CSO: 4700/501

VONJY NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETS, LEADER DEFINES ROLE

Nation's Problems Viewed

Tananarive MADAGASCAR-MATIN in French 17 Aug 81 pp 1, 5

[Article--passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] "Vonjy Iray Tsy Mivaky" is without a doubt one of the most highly visible revolutionary groups and one of unquestioned vitality.

Its national council--the second-highest body after the congress--which gathered several hundred delegates from all corners of Madagascar to Antananarivo, Androhibe, has been followed by numerous observers impressed by an authentic show of force by a party which exudes discipline and unity.

Classed as an ordinary moderate "Vondrona" within the broader family of the National Front for the Defense of the Revolution [FNDR], the VITM [Vonjy Iray Tsy Mivaky] is no less distinguished by the many perspicacious observations made by its national president, CSR [Supreme Revolutionary Council] member Razanabahiny Marojama, which sometimes go a bit further than the orthodox revolutionary doctrine spouted to us every week by the professionals in what is called ideological inspiration.

Razanabahiny also created a sensation by reading his report in French, with no apologies. "Our party," he explained, "needs to make itself known after 8 years of existence, and this second national council of the VITM is a solemn occasion for us to show who we are and what we want."

Our correspondent's account of these Vonjy meetings will be read with interest. And it becomes clear from his article that Dr Razanabahiny Marojama's "revolutionary Vondrona", while it in no way challenges the fundamental option of the Malagasy people, is nonetheless looking realistically and closely at the profound sources of the "Malagasy malaise" in order to come up with solutions whose most striking aspect is that they really stick to the "real Madagascar" and the traditional and revolutionary genius of our people.

VITM militants last weekend held their second national council. More than 2,000 participants, including some 567 delegates from the provinces, met Friday afternoon at the Administrative Training Center on the outskirts of Androhibe, to wrestle with the subject: "The Malagasy Social Revolution To Promote the Integral Development of All Mankind and Every Man."

The reading of the final resolutions by VITM president Razanabahiny Marojama, scheduled for 1000 hours yesterday, was delayed until late afternoon. This indicates how seriously and in what fine detail the VITM examined the national and international situation. By contrast with what happens in the other political parties, here the domestic situation captured the delegate's attention the most in the sessions.

The rejection of any rigid dogmatism and "stereotyped", set conformity, the faith in the fact "Revolution cannot be imported," the "awareness of Malagasy potential," were in the vanguard of the resolutions adopted by the VITM, which pledges "promotion of the socialist revolution for the integral development of all mankind and every man, in particular by means of the economic liberation of man, which itself is conditioned by his participation."

The VITM does not, in fact, recognize "the right to impose one's concept of the good life on others without their participation, or even against their wishes, nor the right to impose their concept of the truth by violence." It rejects the doctrine of the superman: "Nor God, nor Caesar, nor Tribune." At the conclusion of this second national council, the VITM decided that "economic, social, and cultural decentralization can only be made effective by the education of the masses to their new responsibilities; by their being inspired and sensitized by regional participation in decision-making and by the organization of a national training and information campaign designed to clarify for the decentralized communities their precise role and that of the FNDR."

At the conclusion of these days of thoughtful analysis, the VITM militants deemed it "out of the question to challenge our fundamental option, whatever price must be paid, and whatever difficulties we may encounter." Nevertheless, the VITM seems completely prepared to find the ways and means of working to alleviate precisely these difficulties in order to reach the advent of a "just and egalitarian society."

National Unity

Here we mention only the broad lines of the various resolutions passed at the conclusion of the council. Mr Razanabahiny Marojama encouraged the militants to keep moving forward: "We must act," he said, "in such a way that all these decisions we have just made are carried out in order to protect national unity and reach the objectives we have set." He thanked the representatives of the affiliated vondronas in the Front by concluding: "Tsy handohalika anie i Madagasikara Iray Tsy Mivaky." [sic] /Mr Jonah Rakotoarivelo, president of the executive council of the faritany of Antananarivo, attended the closing ceremony yesterday afternoon.

/At the opening session Friday at 1530 hours, it was noted that among those in attendance from other affiliated vondronas in the Front were Zakariasy Albert (AREMA) [Vanguard of the Malagasy Revolution], Maurice Rakotobe (AKFM/KDRSM) [Congress Party for Malagasy Independence-Democratic Committee to Support the Malagasy Socialist Revolution], CSR member Remanindry Jaona (VS MONIMA) [National Movement for the Independence of Madagascar], deputy Pierrette Ratsarazafy (UDEOMA) [Malagasy Christian Democratic Union], and Rabobason Bernard (MFM/MFT) [Militants for the Establishment of a Proletarian Regime-Militants for the Realization of the Revolution]. Mr Remanindry Jaona himself expressed the hope that this national council could "further strengthen our national sovereignty and unity within the FNDR."

/Mrs Pierrette Ratsarazafy (UDECEMA) congratulated VITM on its eighth anniversary. "You could not have come so far," she said, "but for the ideological maturity of your members and leaders." She spoke of the advent of a Single Party while at the same time making clear that this was desirable "only if the people want it"...)

/Mr Maurice Rakotobe (AKFM/KDRSM) gave a brief historical account of his party which was born in May 1958, and spoke of the many congresses of this kind that that party had. "So," he said, "we know whereof we speak, and we know the importance of such a meeting." On behalf of his comrades in the AKFM/KDRSM party, Rakotobe Maurice wished the VITM militants every success in the aim of "strengthening the Malagasy Socialist Revolution."

/Friday afternoon, at the opening session of the vast assembly of militants affiliated with the VITM grouping, CSR member Razanabahiny Marojama, its national president, made a truly "revolutionary"... profession of faith.

/This national council, where there was discussion both of the gains of the revolution and also of the false steps and other mistakes noted so far, critically examined everything. And one can understand why the eyes of the political observers were fixed on Androhibe last weekend.

/This national council coincides with the celebration of VITM's eighth anniversary. It is the second of its kind. This revolutionary vondrona emerged from a student youth organization created in the late 1960's, the Union of Socialist Malagasy Students (USEM). VITM as such was born in 1973. Suspended like all the other political parties during the period of the Military Directorate, it made room for an ITM [Iray Tsy Mivaky] committee, an electoral support group, for the referendum of 21 December 1975. The name Vonjy Iray Tsy Mivaky [or VITM] goes back only as far as the birth of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar [DRM] when social and political order were re-established.

Reason For Being

/At the opening session of this second national council, Mr Razanabahiny Marojama recalled the reason for the existence of his movement: "The realization of truly noble and humanitarian objectives, the social progress of the Malagasy people through the building of a just and egalitarian society."

/"All the members of our organization," said CSR member Razanabahiny Marojama on the occasion, "proclaim loudly their total and conscious adherence to every effort made to bring closer the triumph of the just cause of the workers, the peasants, and the progressive intellectuals, based on the pre-eminence of the interests of the working masses. They are determined, irreversibly, to remain committed to the struggle through constant militancy, to promote a revolution whose end is the development of every man and all mankind. The members have the sacred duty to educate and sensitize their compatriots by making themselves apostles of the cause of the Revolution."

Problems

/VITM is presently represented in all the faritany capitals, and in all 110 fivondronana. The formation of sections within the firaisanas may, however, be

running into a few problems: "Lack of understanding on the part of certain local authorities," said Marojama Razanabahiny Friday, "does not make our task any easier..." Revolutionary groups affiliated with VITM have in the meantime seen the light of day: SRMM [expansion unknown] (labor syndicates), TITM [expansion unknown] (youth group), MRVM [expansion unknown] (student group), MTRM [expansion unknown] (artists' group), etc. In short, a political formation that is growing...

While affirming VITM's adhesion to the FNDR in the name of "socialist commitment," Razanabahiny Marojama defined his movement's "line of action" on Friday: Rejection of rigid dogmatism and stereotyped, set conformity. "We recognize," he said, "the existence of revolutionary truths, but we are also certain that the roads that lead to it are numerous, and this has led us to make the clear distinction between means and ends. Every people has its historical exigencies, its own realities, its set of values which condition its existence. Revolution cannot be imported. Consequently, there cannot exist a single social model which is imposed on everyone. A sort of imported merchandise with which one must be aligned in order to conform" (applause from the entire audience).

Malagasy Values

/Another leading idea underlined in the opening session: awareness of the possibility of building the socialist society upon authentic Malagasy values: "This idea," said Razanabahiny Marojama, "does not spring from a narrow nationalism. It is simply realistic. The Malagasy people have their own conception of the world. In meeting the realities of life throughout its history, they have, bit by bit over the ages, fashioned what is called traditional Malagasy civilization by means of beliefs and religious customs..." In short, Razanabahiny Marojama wanted to say that the Malagasy mind has no need to take lessons from anywhere else in order to develop, or act.

Political, economic, and social requisites were spelled out by the VITM at the opening of the national council: strengthening of our national unity, effective social, economic, and cultural decentralization, the existence of united political organizations, the presence of a state as the true expression of the will of the working masses, the impact of our international relations.

/In that connection, for example, while recognizing our determination to "move closer to the anti-imperialist, anti-hegemonistic, and anti-racist countries," Razanabahiny Marojama believes that "such a situation should not impede our policy of openness on all sides based on the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of a country and on respect for its sovereignty and independence..."

Economics

/On economic matters, here are the broad lines of the VITM's basic ideas: /"In economic terms, it must be admitted that all the causes of our problems do not in every case lie in our mistakes; we have inherited a post-colonial economy whose characteristics are: its inability to escape from under-development, by the combination and concomitance of the five factors termed the Red Book: the relative size of agriculture in the national economy (85 percent [of the population is] peasants); the low level of industrialization; unemployment, under-employment, and the low

level of individual income, especially among the rural population, from which arises the absolute poverty of the great majority; various inequalities (among individuals, among regions, among social classes, between the towns and the country); the relative inaccessibility of modern technology for the majority of people, owing to the low level of personal income, the percentage of children enrolled in schools (only 50 percent of eligible children enrolled in primary school in 1975) and illiteracy.

We would also add: the exacerbated economic and social dualism; and an economy dominated by foreigners, too vulnerable and dependent on the outside world. The revolutionary regime has made basic political decisions, in line with its concern to resolve these complex problems; new legislation has been presented dealing with nationalizations, agrarian reform, and socialist enterprises; for us, the VITM, these measures are important, but in order for them to be carried out, several things are needed:

- 1) The unity of the FNDR must be strengthened, both in terms of institutions and in terms of activities at the level of the popular masses, so that the latter can be mobilized; they must be educated, and made aware, so that they may have the political maturity necessary for the exercise of responsibility.
- 2) The broad masses must be trusted, inspired, made aware of economic development.
- 3) The position of the private sector in the national economy must be defined, so that the new rules of the game are clear and plain (drawing up of an investment code).
- 4) Importance must be accorded to the restructuring of the rural sector to make possible the introduction of a new technology and to ameliorate the problems of bank financing in agriculture.
- 5) Agricultural education must be reformed: the agricultural schools and colleges should be oriented toward the training of young individual producers and groups of producers, to promote the creation of cooperatives and facilitate their establishment by means of financial support or through state provision of cleared land.
- 6) Sound, democratic national planning must be established, so that all the active forces in the nation are involved in its execution. Planning should begin from the decentralized communities and the plan then adopted by the Peoples National Assembly.
- 7) Administrative reform must be undertaken both to make improvements and to fight against present bureaucratic tendencies.

We are proposing all these measures because for VITM the causes of the regression and stagnation of the current economy come in large part:

1. from the absence of a coherent, uniform, unequivocal political structure capable of giving economic players precise instructions, capable of training, and capable of consciousness-raising and monitoring.
2. from the existence of an obsolete, bureaucratic administrative structure inherited from the colonial era, which is burdensome in terms of operating expenses and which is incapable of effectively initiating economic activities.

3. from the inadequacy of efforts to reach the rationally unstructured rural sector.
4. from the unbalanced and unjustified distinction between the necessary balance of monoculture and mixed farming, as a result of which production levels are stagnant or falling (coffee, vanilla, cloves, pepper, valuable products which provide the lion's share of our foreign exchange earnings).
5. from the insufficient motivation of officials: the motivated ones are often incompetent, and the competent ones are not motivated.

Finally, the VITM condemns "without any hesitation the partisan dissensions, separatist tendencies, and arrogance of certain member organizations within the FNDR." Marojama Razanabahiny added that in direct opposition to this what is needed is for us to arouse national enthusiasm in order to liberate the creative forces of the people and to bar the road to the enemy..."

Vonjy Leader's Speech

Tananarive MADAGASCAR-MATIN in French 18 Aug 81 pp 1, 2, 3

[Text] The Administrative Training Center at Androhibe returned to normal yesterday. The some 2,500 militants of the revolutionary vondrona "Vonjy Iray Tsy Mivaky" [VITM] abandoned the premises to return to their respective occupations. About 500 of them returned home. To the four corners of the country. Not without a certain sense of satisfaction: that of a job well done at the second national council of the VITM. The man on the street and political observers commented widely on these sessions. The problem is that it is hard to get a good understanding of the importance of the resolutions made public at the conclusion of the council. One thing is certain. The exchanges of views were most lively, even impassioned. Everyone's deepest desire is to make the revolution succeed. But many things, too many things, are holding back its progress at the present time.

In our issue yesterday we gave the broad lines of the resolutions read publicly Sunday afternoon by the national VITM president, CSR [Supreme Revolutionary Council] member Razanabahiny Marojama, at the end of these 2 and 1/2 days of thoughtful analysis. They can be summed up, in fact, in these few lines: "For the VITM, the phase of the national democratic revolution, with all its tentative groping, must give way to the phase of the democratic and people's revolution, which should be marked by social change and the matching of theoretical knowledge to revolutionary practice in collective control of political life, resulting in the realization of the aspirations of the masses and giving the people responsibility."

In any case, these are the very words with which CSR member Razanabahiny Marojama concluded his remarks Sunday afternoon at

Androhibe. These are remarks which must be still further elaborated and amplified to be grasped by the public. In order to arrive at this stage of the Malagasy revolution, the VITM calls for "strengthening the unity of the FNDR, both in terms of institutions and in terms of activities, of training, of consciousness-raising and mobilization of the popular masses." Aside from that, this revolutionary vondrona "trusts in the broad masses and believes a new investment code defining the new rules of the game must be promulgated." In the rural domain, the VITM declares itself "in favor of easing bank financing and reforming agricultural education." It also intends to struggle "against bureaucracy and corruption." Marojama Razanabahiny's speech makes it clear that the revolutionary actions taken up to now are still far from enough. "VITM considers, in fact, that from top to bottom in the ranks of the bureaucracy there should be ideological training and political education in order to bring about a great change of attitudes, and so that controls be established at the behest of a body of the scope of the FNDR, because economic, social and cultural decentralization may only be made effective by the education of the popular masses to their new responsibilities."

We recall VITM's political will to make the revolution succeed. "It is out of the question," Razanabahiny Marojama underlined Sunday, "to challenge our basic option, whatever the cost may be and whatever the problems we may encounter."

Here, at popular request, is the full text of the speech made in French by the national Vonjy leader.

Vonjy: What It Is, What It Wants

[Text of Speech] Eight years ago today our organization was born, and the holding of this second national council is one of the events scheduled to celebrate that anniversary.

This is how our movement came to be what it is today: the Vonjy jo an' i Madagasikara Iray Tsy Mivaky party itself came out of a student organization created toward the latter half of the 1960's, the Union of Socialist Malagasy Students (USEM), which was involved in its creation from the beginning. The Vonjy party was born 28 February 1973 in Antananarivo; suspended, like all the other political parties during the Military Directorate, it made room for an Iray Tsy Mivaky committee, an electoral support group, for the referendum of 21 December 1975; the current name Vonjy Iray Tsy Mivaky dates only from the birth of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar, when social and political order were once again restored and the decrees suspending political parties were lifted in our country.

Considering its origins, therefore, the revolutionary organization VITM was not born yesterday; it represents the logical result and magnificent capstone of a long-term struggle carried out by sincere militants devoted to the cause of the popular masses, the destitute classes which make up the Malagasy peasantry

(85 percent of the population) and the other workers (common laborers and low-ranking employees of the state); certainly the organizational form of the party has changed since its origins, but the ideological foundation which inspires it remains the same: the realization of real noble and humanitarian objectives, the SOCIAL PROGRESS OF THE MALAGASY PEOPLE [sic; all following upper case phrases as published], through the building of a just and egalitarian society.

All the members of the organization loudly proclaim their total and willing support for any effort undertaken to advance the triumph of the just cause of the workers, the peasants, and the progressive intellectuals, BASED ON THE PRE-EMINENCE OF THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING MASSES; they are irreversibly determined to remain committed to the struggle by constant militancy, to promote a revolution whose aim is THE INTEGRAL DEVELOPMENT OF EVERY MAN AND OF MANKIND; members have the sacred duty to train and sensitize their compatriots by making themselves apostles of the cause of the revolution.

During the 8 years of the party's existence their voice has been heard, their efforts have not been in vain; the party is presently established in all the provincial capitals, in all 110 of the country's fivondronanas, and the training of sections at the level of the Firaiana and the Fokontany is moving ahead inexorably, despite the lack of understanding shown by certain local authorities which has impeded our statistical studies by refusing to deliver the acknowledgements that they have received the documents normally required for approving the official existence of these sections.

We might add to these organizational considerations the fact that, in other fields of activity, the party has extended its influence. Thus the Confederation of Revolutionary Malagasy Syndicates [CSRM] has been founded, as well as the SRMM (Sandika Revolisionera Malagasy Mivondrona) which unites workers in defense of their professional, socio-cultural and economic interests; the revolutionary youth group TITM (Tanora Iray Tsy Mivaky). These are young workers, students, or schoolboys 16 or older with common interests inherent in their need for preparation for life; the TITM prepares rural and urban young people to take responsibilities in the building of the new society of which they will be the most dynamic component; they struggle alongside the party against the exploitation of man by man, against illiteracy, unemployment, parasitism, and anything which might be prejudicial to the social, cultural, and economic development of youth. Finally, the university group, the intellectual branch of TITM, works for the same ends under the name of MRVM (Mpianatra Revolisionera Vonjy Miray), and the young artists, the cultural and artistic branch work under the auspices of MTRM (Mpanantalenta Revolisionera Miray Hina): women revolutionaries, cooperatives and young pioneers aged 15 or less, complete the list of mass organizations in the various branches of activity....

We have spoken of the members of the party, of their revolutionary determination, of the established structures which assure the expansion of the organization in the nation. This information is important for gaining some understanding of our movement; however, we think that it is equally important, if not fundamental, for our compatriots to know the basic principles which inspire our programs of action in resolving problems related to our efforts to build socialism here; we also think that the picture is not complete if we fail to mention the distinctive features of the VITM organization, its special style, and its uniqueness, which distinguishes it from all the other revolutionary organizations that are members of the FNDR.

This uniqueness exists and it results from the very history of the movement, and is inherent in the ideological approach around which all the good intentions of the founders of VITM were crystallized.

It is clear that we are members of the FNDR along with the other revolutionary organizations that have adopted the charter of the Malagasy Socialist Revolution; we have, consequently, accepted that charter as a basic ideological document, a reference, a source of inspiration for all activities carried out to consolidate socialism in Madagascar; in short, we are convinced that if everything written in the Boky Mena is carried through, our country is undoubtedly going to realize REAL SOCIAL PROGRESS.

Thus there can be no doubt as to VITM's socialist commitment, or its loyalty to revolutionary lines: the people unequivocally expressed their will on 21 December 1975.

We speak of traditional Malagasy civilization, instead of Malagasy civilization per se, for the simple reason that since Madagascar was opened up to external influences, new lifestyles have appeared; there has been a slide in the social climate toward new needs and new value systems; which means that Malagasy society no longer has its original homogeneity; social classes, or more precisely social groups have been formed over time as a result of the arrival of Christianity and with it the European civilization the colonizers carried with them.

So if one tries at the present time to map out the broad social lines of the Malagasy population, one can discern two socio-cultural groupings of unequal size.

--The first, the conservative group whose cultural references and value systems draw their force from tradition: this is the largest.

--The second, the social group established on the European model, adhering to new values, as individualistic as you please, sensitive to technical and technological progress. For them, the ideal society is utilitarian and consumer-oriented; value systems, underlying motivations, and habits are copied from the model of the Western bourgeoisie; these are the members of the liberal professions, the lawyers, industrialists, high officials, pharmacists, doctors, notaries, wealthy merchants....

On the other side of the social scale are the peasants, the herdsmen, fishermen, workers and artisans, in short the broad masses who have held onto the spirit of traditional society which we.... In any case, we have defined a line of action appropriate for our movement, based on the following fundamental concepts:

1 - REJECTION OF RIGID DOGMATISM AND STEREOTYPED, FIXED CONFORMISM.

We recognize the existence of inviolable "revolutionary truths," but we are also certain that the roads which lead to it are numerous, and that has led us to make the clear distinction between ends and means, the goal, and ways of reaching it; every people has its historical requirements, its own realities, its system of values which condition its existence, and this must be taken into consideration in order not to get lost in conjecture; REVOLUTION CANNOT BE IMPORTED; consequently, there cannot be one social model to be imposed on everyone, a sort of exported merchandise which must serve as the standard.

2 - AWARENESS OF THE POSSIBILITY OF BUILDING THE SOCIALIST SOCIETY ON AUTHENTIC MALAGASY VALUES.

This idea does not proceed from a narrow nationalism, far from it; it is a simple facing of the facts. The Malagasy people have their own conception of the world; facing life's realities throughout their history, over the years they have bit by bit fashioned what is called traditional Malagasy civilization through their beliefs and religious customs.

....Concern; in social relations, it puts the emphasis more on the group than on the individual, more on solidarity and social relations than on independence and autonomy; this communal society comes out of the Fokonolona spirit, whose socio-psychological basis is devout respect for blood-ties, the Fihavanana, love of the extended family and deep veneration of the elderly and the ancestors. To our way of looking at it, we have here right in front of our faces a social organization--the Fokonolona--which is moving in the societal direction that we want to build; all we have to do is define it and determine its features very precisely in order to extract from it only what we want.

The Fokonolona spirit can solve the social contradictions which exist between the so-called individualist system and the so-called collectivist system: A MIDDLE WAY, WHICH REFLECTS THE MALAGASY PSYCHOLOGY, WHICH IN GENERAL REJECTS EXTREMES.

In the Fokonolona, the individual is respected; he is not eliminated or ignored, but he can only flourish and develop his potential, his unique being, within and through society, in union with all other men and in communion with the ancestors and with God. In light of this study, the VITM party is convinced that it is possible to create a Malagasy solution to the various problems and diverse contradictions posed by the building of socialism in our country; consequently, starting from these values which make up our authenticity and our social identity we can, like other countries which have chosen the same option, resolve the problems which will not fail to arise during the course of the evolution of the struggle by bringing to bear our own unique stamp; thus our own experience is going to be added to that of the other socialist countries and will contribute to the triumph of revolution throughout the world.

3 - FINALLY, THE THIRD FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPT IS THE ACCEPTANCE OF PRAGMATISM AS THE ENGINE OF ACTION

We accept the superiority of action to doctrine. Facts should not be bent to fit with pre-established ideas; it is the ideas which should be readjusted or revised to accord with the facts; certainly there are interactions, and in order not to lock the future into a preconceived mold, VITM requires its theoretical convictions to be put to the practical test.

Ladies and gentlemen, this defines our own identity, and without further ado we move on from these general considerations to get to the real business of the second national council.

This national council has a theme:

VITM, 8 YEARS OF PROMOTING A REVOLUTION WHOSE AIM IS THE INTEGRAL DEVELOPMENT OF EVERY MAN AND ALL MANKIND.

Within the party structure, the national council is the second highest deliberative body after the Congress. This assembly thus includes the members of the political bureau, the top leaders of our organization from the headquarters of the Fivondronana to the headquarters of the Faritany, plus the leaders of the affiliated organizations: labor unions, women's organization, youth, students, cooperatives, and artistic groups; this whole group constitutes what is called THE PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE. This is merely to underline the importance of these sessions which are going to examine all the past positions we have taken in light of experience acquired and to establish a new program on the basis of the resolutions adopted.

The Programs

Without prejudice to the contents of the program which the national council is going to adopt, I can begin now by presenting the broad lines, in my capacity as national president of the organization.

We emphasized at the very beginning of these remarks that we must definitely distinguish between the objective, the aim of the struggle, and the ways and means of reaching it; the Red Book (Boky Mena) says that THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION SHOULD PROMOTE THE INTEGRAL DEVELOPMENT OF EVERY MAN AND ALL MANKIND; the end, therefore, is man; all our efforts are toward creating a society which provides for his well-being, his full flowering, his liberation from all forms of servitude which oppress him; this society has to be A SOCIETY OF FREEDOM, EQUALITY, AND SOCIAL JUSTICE, A SOCIETY WITHOUT EXPLOITATION WHERE THE UNSHACKLED DEVELOPMENT OF EACH IS THE PRECONDITION FOR THE UNSHACKLED DEVELOPMENT OF THE WHOLE.

The objective being thus clearly fixed, numerous ways and means can be employed to get there: "There are many ways of envisaging the liberation of man; some see it in philosophical terms, others in strictly social terms; but we ourselves believe that the foremost, inseparable pre-condition IS ECONOMIC LIBERATION. The center of interest is man, therefore this economic liberation is based on his participation; the workers, the working masses, cannot be freed without man or despite him. VITM does not admit the right to decide what is good for others without their consent or over their objections, or the right to impose their concept of the truth by violence.

Of course, in the struggle to establish economic and social justice, there may be minorities, former profiteers, who rise up or rebel against the will of the majority, and in such cases one must take action within the framework of law established by the working masses in the name of freedom, the right of self-defense, and respect for the dignity of man.

For similar reasons, VITM is also opposed to the doctrine of the superman, "nor God, nor Caesar, nor Tribune," in the old revolutionary refrain; the deification of leaders and popes is repugnant to us, for it is an insult to human dignity. Certainly, there are national heroes who by their strength, exceptional courage, and dedication to a cause, have influenced the course of history in the direction of a political, economic, and social transformation that was beneficial for society; but alone in an uninhabited desert, they would represent nothing at all. They need other men who accept them, support them, and encourage them, in order for their genius and their power of will to be manifested and asserted.

Thus we have clearly laid out the fundamental concepts which inspire our programs. To translate them effectively into deeds or form them into concrete actions, political, economic and social conditions must be achieved among which we would cite:

- 1) strengthening our national unity;
- 2) real social, economic and cultural decentralization;
- 3) the existence of unified political organizations;
- 4) the presence of a state that is the real expression of the will of the working masses;
- 5) the impact of our international relations.

I. National Unity

The unity of the Malagasy people is one of the necessary conditions; it is a guarantee of freedom and national independence. The colonialists, aware of the dangers posed to their administration by national unity, always tried by every means possible to sow an atmosphere of hatred between the various ethnic groups on the island, in application of the well-known principle, "Divide and conquer." They almost succeeded in creating the social order they wanted, the most striking characteristics of which are:

--the existence of social injustice supported by an unbalanced economic structure and by a biased, corrupt bureaucracy, in which rake-offs, embezzlement, and nepotism were the rule;

--insufficient education on civic affairs, the result of which is the citizens' low level of national awareness, and the narrowing of the concept of the nation, with the Tanindrazana (fatherland) quite simply being confused with one's little native region; whatever is outside one's village community or racial community is considered devoid of interest or worthy of distrust, abuse, or even abandonment.

--inequalities in the development of different regions, and between the towns and the country;

--the birth of rich and poor classes or social groups;

--the overextended centralization of the administrative system, thus setting the capital against the peripheral towns.

This political, economic, and social situation, created in order to serve the colonial administration, is a reality with which we are still living today; thus, to establish a new social, economic, and political order, which the revolution prescribes, we must have a draconian solution which will not only be of a structural nature but will also be psychological, and will result in a real change of everyone's attitudes; otherwise, the neo-colonial mind-set will persist long into the future.

We all agree that building socialism will take place over a rather long period, during which diverse contradictions will continue to exist; consequently what is needed is united action by all Malagasies, their constant militancy, their continuing fortitude, and their unshakeable determination to surmount all problems and gain the victory.

II. Effective Decentralization: Social, Economic, and Cultural

The problem of decentralization is not a purely structural one; that is, it will only be finally realized when the various echelons of the restructured rural sector are in place, from the fokontany to the faritany; this is not already the case, for the education of the masses to their new responsibilities, their mobilization, the heightening of their awareness, all remain basic problems that still must be resolved.

To motivate a region toward development, it must participate in decision-making. Decentralization gives the working masses the chance to express themselves by means of an appropriate institution; we have made a revolution at the top; on one side, bureaucratic and technocratic tendencies lie in wait at every corner, and on the other side lies the threat of anarchy through the weakening of central authority; decentralization must not become synonymous with secession, which would impair our national unity. Thus, in order to clarify any ambiguities of interpretation, a national campaign of education and information should be undertaken to enlighten the decentralized communities as to their exact role.

To do this, we need an experienced, determined political organization, one whose reputation is accepted by all, whose influence embraces all of the broad masses; at the present time, there is no single organization which can claim to have these characteristics; there is only the FNDR to play this role.

III. Political Organizations

VITM is categorical: the revolution needs political organizations to build this new society; these organizations will bring together citizens who are convinced of the justice of the struggle, and who are thus determined not to give ground no matter what reversals of circumstance or unexpected ills may arise.

Of course, for many Malagasies, a political party is still synonymous with a demagogic organization set up to win power for power's sake and to use it against the interests of the masses. This was true throughout the period of the colonial regime, as well as the neo-colonial, when the state was in the service of an active minority, the foreign and local bourgeoisie.

Today, if the program inscribed in the Red Book is followed to the letter, we have something different. Theoretically, one must put the public authorities in the service of the workers and of the broad masses. The constitution of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar says this clearly and distinctly, and I quote: "A new type of state is to be built which will be the expression of the interests of the working masses, which is going to guarantee the unity of the social order, and of the system of socialist juridical order, as well as the unity of the economic system with respect to legislation and regulations; this state is going to remove the economic and social obstacles which infringe on the equality of our citizens,

shackle the development of the individual person, and impede the effective participation of all workers in the political, economic, and social organization. Formerly, the party was in service to the state; it was its natural extension for the further subjection of the peasants and workers, and in fact was inactive except during political campaigns. For us, the party must have supremacy over the state. Its role is to be the foremost guide of the revolution, and it is at the head of the masses to lead them to the final victory; it is the spearhead of the working masses, the permanent interpreter of the workers' interests, their most powerful political weapon; it is a sort of thinking detachment, ideologically well-armed and highly organized for the purpose of shattering attempts at the resurgence of the exploitative society left by the bourgeois state and by colonization.

The FNDR, the existence of which is provided for in the constitution, can play this party role; but to do so, it must be the expression of the real alliance of all the Malagasy revolutionary organizations which accept free and equal cooperation without partisan spirit, and without one organization trying to achieve dominance over another, which is a possible source of conflict. We of the VITM are convinced that a separatist attitude by any member organization of the Front aimed at eliminating other partners by various cunning maneuvers is an act of suicide possibly leading to catastrophes which would thereby threaten the future of the revolution. The attitude which should prevail in the Front is the cordial understanding of all members working together to form a well homogenized political organization capable of effective struggle. The political education and training of the masses, heightening their awareness and inspiring them will be the primordial tasks the Front should address, for the revolution must be everyone's business, not merely the concern of a minority, no matter how active, so that the common program--THE BUILDING OF A SOCIALIST SOCIETY--will be assured of realization.

IV. The State

Right after independence, the state represented nothing but the interests of a bourgeois minority: it was the instrument of coercion used to subjugate the masses and exploit them. For us, the state should be identified with the interests of the people, and become the driving force of the revolutionary struggle. However, some nefarious after-effects inherited from colonial and neocolonial rule still remain. From the top to the bottom of the ranks of the bureaucracy ideological training and political education must be undertaken to stimulate a change of attitudes; people must understand that a position of responsibility is no longer a God-given sinecure, as a result of which he does not have to be accountable to anyone. That attitude must disappear, and the existence of a control organization on the level of the people as a whole will surely help to guide individuals toward the interests of the broad masses.

The above-described Front, as a political organization in continual contact with the population, should play this monitoring role. It can involve itself at any time when there are abuses or anti-revolutionary acts observed at any level whatever in the administrative apparatus; supported in this way, the bureaucracy's activity will prove to be very effective, especially in terms of development: all forces work together for progress; on the one side the popular forces who wield revolutionary authority and are inspired by the FNDR; and on the other side, the state and the bureaucracy, all technical officials united to achieve administration that is authentically serving the masses.

V. International Relations

Independent Madagascar cannot permit itself to live isolated from the rest of the world in the Indian Ocean, which is increasingly threatened, nor to live confined behind its own borders without openness toward the outside world, according to the Red Book. Our country should build up its international relations. It should be very active in diplomacy. As an African country, it has adhered to the principles of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in order to struggle alongside fraternal countries against imperialist and racist domination in Africa. As a member of the Third World, it is a member of the nonaligned group united by the search for international justice and durable peace in the world.

Our socialist option, condemning all forms of oppression, logically leads us to move closer to the anti-imperialist, anti-hegemonistic, and anti-racist countries, but this situation should not be an impediment to our policy of openness in all directions, based on the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of a country, and respect for its sovereignty and national independence.

Conclusions

Ladies and gentlemen, allow me to return to the theme of this national council:

"VITM, 8 YEARS OF PROMOTING REVOLUTION WHOSE AIM IS THE INTEGRAL DEVELOPMENT OF EVERY MAN AND ALL MANKIND."

We have developed the theoretical foundations and the practical actions needed for the advent of a socialist society which should encourage this freeing of man and his complete pullulation. To do this, political, economic, and socio-cultural structures were established 5 years ago.

Recently, we celebrated the fifth anniversary of that historic decision. We saw how far we had come, assessed the results of our efforts; of course, we have encountered many obstacles and problems difficult to resolve; contradictions arose and put us in difficult positions. We have suffered some defeats and noted the gaps in our action. But in other respects we have had successful initiatives and we have made some striking victories; out of our imperfections, our mistakes, and inadequacies in our critical analysis have come positive gains which have given us courage and vindicated our faith in final victory. In short, the progress of our revolution for the last 5 years is as chequered as any other human undertaking, from the highest to the lowest.

In mentioning the ups and downs of the struggle over this last 5 years, it is the furthest thing from our intention to try to determine whether the overall record is positive or negative with the aim of determining whether the revolution should be continued; IT IS OUT OF THE QUESTION FOR US TO CHALLENGE OUR FUNDAMENTAL OPTION, WHATEVER PRICE MUST BE PAID AND WHATEVER DIFFICULTIES WE MAY ENCOUNTER. Our concern is to perform a critical review and to analyze the past, so that we may order our future actions well; thus, without loss of time, we will be able to pass to the next stage of the revolution without risk of succumbing to the same mistakes and errors, in light of the experience acquired. In light of the realities and objective circumstances, we will be able to advance resolutely into the future with our hearts filled with hope.

It is clear that we are in the state of the national democratic revolution; it is therefore to be expected at this opening stage that there would be tentative gropings, which might seem to compromise the outcome of the struggle; but in the phase of the "democratic and people's revolution" a social change must be performed, and the matching of theoretical understanding with revolutionary practice will give us greater capacity to master our problems; THIS IS THE STAGE OF COLLECTIVE DOMINATION OF POLITICAL LIFE AND POPULAR CONTROL OF DEVELOPMENT, TRANSLATING INTO THE MATERIALIZATION OF THE ASPIRATIONS OF THE MASSES AND THE PEOPLE TAKING ON THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES; the structures and institutions established in accordance with the socialist ethos become functional and operational; the working mass will take its own destiny in hand and exercise effective decision-making power at all levels of national life.

The phase of "DEMOCRATIC AND PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION" is still in the future; it will not establish itself; we will have to prepare for it and hasten its advent. In order to do that, we will have to have the courage of self-criticism to amend our mistakes, whether they arise from poor adaptation in the structures we have established, or from inefficiency in the people responsible for making these structures work.

For us in VITM, there are two kinds of inadequacies, and if we do not want to remain indefinitely in the phase of National Democratic Revolution, or worse, regress and encourage the resurgence of the exploitative society, we must move forward with a policy of readjustment of our initiatives at all levels:

--economic

--political

--socio-cultural.

In economic terms, moreover, one must admit that not all the causes of our problems spring from our own mistakes; we have inherited a post-colonial economy whose characteristics are:

--its inability to escape from underdevelopment, through the combination and concomitance of five factors, according to the Red Book.

--the size of agriculture in relation to the national economy (85 percent of the populace are peasants),

--the low level of industrialization,

--unemployment, underemployment, and the low level of individual incomes, particularly among the rural people, leading to the absolute poverty of the great majority.

--various inequalities (between individuals, regions, social strata, the towns and the rural areas).

--the general inaccessibility of modern technology, due to the low level of individual income, the low rate of school enrollment (only 50 percent of eligible children were enrolled in primary school in 1975) and illiteracy.

We would also add:

--exacerbated economic and social dualism

--a foreign-dominated economy

--an economy too vulnerable and dependent on the outside.

The revolutionary authority has made basic political decisions, in keeping with its concern to resolve these complex problems; new legislation has emerged dealing with nationalizations, agrarian reforms, the socialist enterprises; for us, the VITM, these measures are important, but in order to carry them into effect, we must:

- 1) strengthen the unity of the FNDR, both institutionally and in terms of the activities at the level of the popular masses, in order to mobilize them; train them, and heighten their awareness so they may have the political maturity necessary to the exercise of responsibility.
- 2) trust the broad masses, inspire them, make them aware of economic development.
- 3) define the role of the private sector in the national economy so that the new rules of the game are clear and distinct (preparation of an investment code).
- 4) put priority on the restructuring of the rural sector to make possible the introduction of a new technology and to ease problems of bank finance in agriculture.
- 5) reform agricultural education; the agricultural schools and colleges should be oriented toward training young producers and groups of producers for the creation of cooperatives, and facilitate their establishment by financial support or by state provision of cleared land.
- 6) establish sound democratic national planning, so that all the active forces in the nation will be involved in executing the plan; this planning should start from the decentralized communities, and finally be adopted by the people's national assembly.
- 7) begin the reform of the bureaucracy to make it complement development, and struggle against existing bureaucratic tendencies."

We are proposing all of these measures, because for VITM, the causes of the present regression and stagnation in the economy come in large part:

1. - from the absence of a coherent political structure, uniform and speaking with one voice, capable of giving economic players precise instructions, capable of training, consciousness-raising, and control.
2. - from the existence of an obsolete administrative structure, overly bureaucratic, inherited from the colonial era, which is a burden in terms of operating expenses, incapable of efficiently initiating economic activity.
3. - from the insufficient impact that has been made on the rationally unstructured rural sector.

4. - of the unbalanced and unjustified distinction between the necessary balance of monoculture and polyculture, as a result of which production stands still or declines (coffee, vanilla, cloves, pepper, valuable products which provide the lion's share of our foreign exchange earnings).

5. - of inadequate motivation of the part of officials.

THE HIGHLY MOTIVATED ARE OFTEN INCOMPETENT, WHILE THE COMPETENT ARE UNMOTIVATED

Ladies and gentlemen, and dear comrades:

I will end this opening speech at the second national council of our organization with this observation:

In order to achieve the basic objectives described in the charter of the Malagasy Socialist Revolution, the country relies on the destitute masses, on an impoverished peasantry; the wealthy agricultural operators of the colonial period were mostly foreigners; which was not the situation that prevailed in some countries which at the onset of their struggle had the advantage of a petty-bourgeois peasant class that could be reconverted to the revolutionary cause and would constitute a not insignificant point of departure for the take-off of the rural economy. So, considering the fact that the foundation of our economy is primarily rural, the task of building socialism will not be easy, and is going to require from us an ardent and inextinguishable faith, tenacious will, and the willingness to face all the trials ahead.

"It is a long-term project, one which requires dedication and sacrifice for the benefit of the people, as well as patriotic work, sacrifice and continual readiness," says the Red Book.

This enormous task of escaping underdevelopment by means of the socialist path condemns all real progressive forces to work together and collaborate: it is necessary for all revolutionary organizations to rally to the FNDR, and the truth must be recognized.

For us in the VITM, we unhesitatingly condemn partisan dissension, separatist tendencies, and the arrogance of certain member organizations of the FNDR. Our task is just the opposite: we must arouse national enthusiasm to liberate the creative energies of the people and bar the road to the enemy. We must work together to stimulate active cooperation among all workers, peasants, manual laborers and progressive intellectuals, in every domain; together we must hold fast to our national unity, so that:

Long Live VITM.

9516

CSO: 4719/374

POLITICAL CONFIDENCE NEEDED FOR ECONOMIC SUCCESS

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 11 Sep 81 p 1

[Editorial]

[Text] We welcome the economic reforms announced last night by the AG Mr Danie Hough.

This newspaper has been calling for such reforms for the past three years and as such we suggest that they are well overdue.

Three things are clear, however:

--The reforms will be of limited benefit to the country unless political confidence is substantially boosted;

--The reforms will be of little consequence to potential foreign investors unless the incentives are properly marketed in SA and abroad;

--And the reforms will be largely neutralised until economic relations with SA are put on an even keel.

Referring to the first point, it is for example ridiculous to attempt to entice highly qualified people to come to SWA or to stay in the country while their safety and property cannot be secured in the long term.

On the second point, there can be no real economic growth in SWA unless there is a substantial injection of foreign capital. That capital will not be forthcoming unless investors are aware of the fiscal and economic attractions of the country.

And lastly, there is no point in attempting to get new investors to take advantage of local fiscal incentives when the economic disadvantages emanating from SA exceed the local incentives.

Council of Ministers' Chairman Mr Dirk Mudge mentioned in his Budget in July that there was a need to look into this question and we hope that the matter is investigated and rectified rather sooner than later.

That said, the reforms reflect an apparent willingness by our authorities to improve the situation substantially and we praise their efforts. Indeed, if this is just the start, and there is no reason why it shouldn't be, then SWA has much to look forward to.

CSO: 4700/500

HOUGH OUTLINES ECONOMIC REFORM MEASURES

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 11 Sep 81 pp 1, 3

[Text] SWA's economic future promised lucrative prospects to free enterprise, which warranted fresh scrutiny by foreign and local investors, the Administrator General of the Territory, Mr Danie Hough, said yesterday.

The Territory's interim government was committed to generating prosperity through the free market system and would soon create mechanisms to stimulate economic growth.

In a speech delivered at the opening of the Windhoek Agricultural Show, Mr Hough announced that legislation was in the pipeline aimed at:

- encouraging home ownership;
- separate taxation of married women;
- a maximum marginal taxation rate of 39 percent;
- the providing of selective tax incentives for certain industries, and
- a 20 percent deductible depreciation of commercial buildings in the first year and four percent a year for the next 20 years.

Mr Hough said individual taxation was on average 25 percent lower than in South Africa.

SWA's tax system was "designed to act as an incentive to improved economic performance and to encourage the optimal use of all available sources of experienced and skilled labour."

A unique feature of the new tax structure was that an income rebate of R1 000 a year would be allowed to every property owner who occupied his house or flat in terms of sectional title deed.

"This is an entirely new measure which, to my knowledge, has not so far been applied anywhere else in the world."

Mr Hough said there would be a strong government shift of emphasis from rented accommodation to home ownership for all population groups in the Territory.

Allocation of State funds for low-cost housing especially could be expected to rise sharply.

In terms of proposed tax legislation all business concerns would be enabled to write off investment in machinery and equipment in the year of the purchase.

"Initial allowances and investment allowances which favour certain types of businesses more than others, will no longer apply here".

Mr Hough said the interim government in the Territory had committed itself to a healthy and positive financial policy to stimulate economic performance.

Investors also had the repeated and explicit assurances of the SA Government that it would not allow chaos and disruption in SWA.

"This means only one thing, that the time has come for the South Africa, South West African and overseas businessman and entrepreneur to take a new look at the land between the Orange River and the Cunene River.

Outlining economic problems in the Territory, Mr Hough said SWA's gross domestic product amounted to R1 323 last year, which was the second highest per capita, after South Africa, in sub-Saharan Africa.

Yet, SWA remained a typical developing country.

A large section of the population depended on a subsistence economy and produced a high birth rate.

Against that rural poverty, the urban centres practised a sophisticated Western economy.

There was no easy way to bridge the gap, Mr Hough said.

Water shortages, lack of energy resources, the absence of large local markets, together with uncertainty over the political future of the Territory and a prolonged war in the far northern parts added to the burden of economic development.

"Against this background it will be readily understood that the authorities have to play a large role in the economy" Mr Hough said.

"The authorities have an enormous task to build infrastructures in this vast land with its few people, to maintain law and order and to promote the economic development of the country."--Sapa

CSO: 4700/500

MOTSUENYANE URGES BLACK STAKE IN ECONOMY

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 11 Sep 81 p 4

[Article by David Pieters: "Blacks Need a Stake In The Economy - Motsuenyane"]

[Text] **AS LONG AS Black business interests have no share in SA's free enterprise system, the free enterprise system in SA has no future,** said Mr Sam Motsuenyane, President of the National African Federated Chambers of Commerce in Windhoek yesterday.

Mr Motsuenyane was addressing a symposium on Tertiary education organised by the African Studies Centre of the Academy for Tertiary Education in SWA, which was held as part of the celebrations of the Academy's first year of existence as an autonomous institution.

Mr Motsuenyane said as long as the Black people in SA have no stake in the economic system, they would not be prepared nor could they be expected to align themselves with it.

"Black peoples' traditional role in the economy as job-seekers must be changed to that of job creator," Mr Motsuenyane said. "I regard this as a task of paramount importance."

He pointed out that there was no way in which White SA entrepreneurs could create the required 1 500 new jobs per day, that was needed if the

SA economy was to absorb new job-seekers coming onto the labour market at the present rate.

Despite the average of 10 percent increase a year in State finance allocated to Black education in SA during the past 20 years, Mr Motsuenyane said that most Black people in SA remained relatively uneducated today, and this was reflected on their roles in the division of labour.

A recent survey had shown that less than one out of every 100 White employees were in unskilled positions, whereas less than one out of every 200 Black employees currently held managerial positions.

There were approximately 900 pieces of statutory legislation in SA which prevented Blacks from entering certain fields of employment and self-employment, said Mr Motsuenyane.

He emphasised the need for training Black workers for higher and professional skills to be directed towards the development of employment opportunities, otherwise further problems would be created.

During the past year, 276 Blacks in SA wrote their exams for qualified artisans, while 10 000 Whites wrote theirs.

WOKEN UP

Recently SA universities had woken up to the need to liaise with the private sector in

order to develop entrepreneurial skills amongst the Black community, Mr Motsuenyane said, and it was about time that this happened.

"As long as Black and White cannot work together within companies, they cannot be expected to govern the country together either," he argued.

Mr Motsuenyane stressed the importance of attitudinal changes if resistance to emergent Black economic aspirations were to be met.

"Certain of these attitudes will simply be eliminated because necessity is the mother of invention," he said.

Mr Motsuenyane named three conditions which would have to be met if Africans were to enter into the private sector.

These were:

- the abolition of separate educational systems for the different population groups and their unification under a single education department;
- the implementation of free and compulsory education for all;
- and the opening of all schools and other institutions to all races.

"The maintenance of separate racial identities is becoming more irrelevant each day," he said, "and the only solution is the meaningful integration of the people at an education level".

Mr Motsuenyane also pleaded for higher teachers salaries to prevent the present drain of the best teachers into the private sector.

He concluded by calling for the inclusion of the urban Black community into the White Western civilisation in the cities.

CSO: 4700/500

NAMIBIA

BRIEFS

SWA CONTACT WITH AFRICA--The Windhoek Sakekamer has initiated contact on business or commercial levels with various African countries. The Sakekamer is of the opinion that SWA, as a member of the African context, should build up friendships in Africa. To date there has been progress in making contact with Burundi, the Ivory Coast, Cameroons, Kenya, the Congo, Morocco, Upper Volta, Ruanda, Senegal, Togo, Chad, Zimbabwe and Botswana. A campaign involving the placing of brochures in Europe and America, undertaken some time ago has also proved to be extremely successful. This brochure, which deals with infrastructure services in SWA has now also been translated into French by the Sakekamer and it is envisaged to distribute the first of these French brochures in France early next year. The German edition of the brochure--of which 5 000 were printed--will also possibly be reprinted. [Text] [Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 11 Sep 81 p 21]

CSO: 4700/500

ONERSOL DIRECTOR DISCUSSES NAIROBI CONFERENCE, SOLAR ENERGY

Niamey SAHEL HEBDO in French 31 Aug 81 pp 11-13

[Interview with Professor Abdou Moumouni, director of the National Solar Energy Office (ONERSOL), by Abdourahamane Alilou, date and place not specified: "Spotlight on ONERSOL"]

[Text] SAHEL HEBDO: Professor, you were recently in Nairobi, where you took part in the United Nations conference on new and renewable energy sources. It is known that the conference was to touch on use of the natural resources of the sun. May one know what was said on this subject?

Professor Abdou Moumouni: The Nairobi conference was not concerned with just solar energy. It had to deal with new and renewable energies, including solar energy as well as wind energy, energy from the sea, geothermal energy, biomass (anything to do with possible forest exploitation). All these forms of energy are in fact linked to the sun, but it was not direct solar energy alone that was the subject of the Nairobi conference.

In Nairobi a plan of action (concerning new and renewable energies) was adopted by the conference. The conference also had to think about the practical means for executing this plan of action.

A commission with a Nigerian as reporter was set up to look into the institutional and financial questions relating to the plan of action. With respect to finances, it is obvious that industrialized countries will be asked to help. It should be noted that so far as new and renewable energies are concerned, the developing countries are the best endowed.

The conference was faced with huge difficulties in view of the position of a certain number of developing countries on the institutional issue, that is, the organization which is to oversee execution of the Nairobi plan of action and the financial organization that in short must be the instrument for carrying out the institutional program.

For the time being, an organization composed of United Nations member countries will be set up to begin execution of this plan of action.

Mention was also made of establishing a branch of the World Bank to deal solely with energy problems, financing and projects concerned with energy throughout the world. The contributions of the various countries were not set because of the problems existing at the time. However, a certain number of countries definitely made commitments. Such was the case of Canada, whose prime minister, Mr Trudeau, was present in Nairobi. He spoke at the conference, and indicated that his country was prepared over the next 5 years to place a billion and a half (1.5 billion) dollars at the disposal of developing countries for new and renewable energies.

The European community, though it gave no precise figures, also promised to augment by a very substantial amount the budget that it earmarks for this program. It also indicated that its center (located in Italy) concerned with new and renewable energy issues will be reorganized so as to assure cooperation between the European community and the ACP [African, Caribbean, and Pacific] countries.

The Scandinavian countries also adopted a fairly clear attitude toward increasing their aid to assure execution of the Nairobi plan of action.

The significant thing is that the importance of new and renewable energies has been recognized, since the United Nations has devoted a conference to them. But I think one should have no illusions. Only on the basis of our own efforts in our own countries will we make any progress in the use of new and renewable energies.

SAHEL HEBDO: Professor, let us talk now about ONERSOL, our solar energy office. Can you tell us what activities this office has been involved with since its establishment in 1965?

Professor Abdou Moumouni: The office was established to undertake research that must be tried out in the solar energy field. So far the office has fulfilled the role assigned to it by the state, since it has done studies that have led to the perfecting of a certain number of types of solar installations. I would first mention solar water heaters, that have now become a familiar sight around Niamey. They are to be seen in many houses and enterprises. The Gawaye Hotel is equipped with a water heater (60 cubic meters per day). There has also been the perfecting of solar distillers, which are perhaps less well known than solar water heaters, but can be seen in a certain number of enterprises.

The office has also developed collectors for water pumping. We now have two stations running on collectors manufactured by ONERSOL. (ONERSOL's production and marketing plant). These are the Bosse-Bangou station, which puts out 20 kilowatts on 1 well and pumps about 15 to 20 cubic meters a day, and the Karma station, which is much larger. This one is also equipped with collectors produced by ONERSOL, permitting the irrigation of 30 hectares of rice

paddies in the Karma hydro-agricultural development area.

ONERSOL has also perfected and started educational television in Niger with solar energy. Another ONERSOL achievement is the Kodo relay station on the Dosso road, which is supplied by solar furnaces. Jointly with the OPT [Postal and Telecommunications Office], ONERSOL is also studying the possibility of supplying other types of relay station, on the one hand, and on the other, sending and receiving sets for use in the bush, [such as those] that are in sub-prefectures, territorial police units, army units, etc.

ONERSOL is undertaking research to improve the performance of the collectors used to supply solar engines. One experiment has already proven conclusive in this area. For solar pumping stations, we switched from collectors of 2 square meters to collectors of 6 square meters. We also have under study (in execution) a solar engine patented by ONERSOL, of which the prototype was built in collaboration with the Federal Republic of Germany. It is an engine whose original feature is that it runs at powers that may vary between 2 kilowatts and 12 kilowatts in the same engine.

Among the projects that we have, there is one for perfecting solar drying of agricultural products. We began with onions, in view of our country's onion output and also in view of the importance of growing onions and preserving them in dried form.

We also have as project a study for testing solar cooking stoves. ONERSOL now has a new building that includes 14 laboratories. The construction of the building, which cost about 700 million CFA francs, was guided by a certain number of ideas making passive air-conditioning possible (lowering the temperature between the outer and inner walls).

We also expect to air-condition our new building through active solar energy. The we have in project the construction of a 50-kilowatt kiln which will make it possible to reach temperatures of up to 2,000 degrees Centigrade to undertake various studies on construction materials, ceramic, lime, etc.

Lastly, there is a section of ONERSOL under the direction of Professor Daouda Hamani which will be concerned with the processing of a certain number of plants, selected according to a certain number of criteria, into combustible gases (this is what is known as biomass).

SAHEL HEBDO: The use of solar energy offers definite advantages compared to other energies; what are these advantages?

Professor Abdou Moumouni: In my opinion there are two basic advantages in the use of solar energy for our country, though I do not say for everybody. To start with, we have the sun, which means that nothing has to be transported, unlike oil, gasoline, or diesel oil, which have to be transported, stockpiled, and so on. The sun is everywhere and can be used wherever the energy need arises, especially in rural areas where there are access and transportation problems, etcetera.

Then, not only is the sun present everywhere, it does not have to be paid for either; the energy the sun gives us is free of charge. But to make use of the sun, there are the facilities to pay for.

As concerns the other kinds of energies that are used in industrialized countries, by importing the corresponding equipment we are, in fact, also importing a type of society. So as we import technology, we are also importing a kind of society that is not necessarily our kind of society, nor the kind of society that we would have chosen of our own free will. This in my opinion is a very important consideration on the political, cultural, and sociological level. It so happens that solar energy and renewable energies, in that they are locally recovered energies that do not require the concentration of populations and industries, enable us to keep our kind of society, and in any case, even if we want to make this type of society undergo changes, to have it evolve in a much more flexible way, without falling into the excesses of the consumer society of industrialized countries.

SAHEL HEBDO: There has been some question of extending the use of solar energy to other departments of our country. Where do we stand now with this, and what measures need to be implemented to bring it about?

Professor Abdou Moumouni: Your question gives me an opportunity to mention the aspect which is perhaps the drawback at present, at least in the short range, of the use of solar energy. I refer to the problem of initial investments. What is certain is that initial investments, today at least, so far as solar energy is concerned, are large. But it has to be realized that once these investments have been made, if they are made judiciously, that is to say, with facilities that are really appropriate for their uses and for their users, there is nothing else to pay. For example, if you buy a car, you will have to pay for gasoline afterwards, whereas for a solar installation or a wind-driven installation, the initial investment is paid for, but afterwards, it is the wind or the sun that powers the installations. This means that it is mainly the question of installation lifetime that is important, because it is the relationship between the initial investment and the lifetime that enables one to find out what advantage may be derived from a facility powered by new and renewable energies.

So far as concerns our program for solar energy in Niger, it consists in a first stage of installing a solar pump in every department of our country so that the service that can be rendered by solar energy may be spread throughout the entire territory of Niger.

To this end, we are at the moment engaged in a first slice which consists of installing three 5-kilowatt solar pumps jointly financed (under the present program) by the FAC [Aid and Cooperation Fund] and Niger at 50 percent each.

The implantation sites for these pumps, pending the remainder to complete the seven departments, are Dosso department (the project relates to the drilling site at Kore-Mairouwa), Maradi department (the project concerns a rural hydrolic engineering well in the Dakoro district), and Zinder department. There

are of course installations planned for the other departments, but I am talking about the first slice for which we have funds.

SAHEL HEBDO: World energy consumption is increasing while reserves of fossil fuels are being exhausted. What role can the use of solar energy play, and how can it contribute to meeting the situation?

Professor Abdou Moumouni: I think one has to be lucid and realistic. Solar energy can play an important role in a certain number of situations. Hot water production by solar energy is no problem whatever. The proof of that is that in Niamey private and government-owned houses are equipped with solar water heaters.

It must be pointed out that one of the big advantages of solar energy is that it can be adapted to various uses. For example, you can install so many solar kilowatts over a well or a permanent pond and put people to work without having to carry the current with poles or wires, and so on.

In the area of solar air conditioning, as soon as the time comes when it has been perfected, it will obviously change energy problems completely. Then there are solar cooking stoves that will have an important role to play.

If one takes into account the severe deforestation in and around our cities, a deforestation caused by woodcutting which constitutes a real danger, it happens that solar energy can at least help in the cities at a minimum to halve the consumption of wood, which would make it possible to halve the deforestation.

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CSO: 4719/376

SEMINAR ON FOOD PRODUCTS CONCLUDES

Solidarity Fund, TOGOGRAIN

Lome LA NOUVELLE MARCHE in French 10 Aug 81 pp 1, 4

[Text] The establishment of a National Solidarity Fund for the Green Revolution, whose proceeds will be made available to organizations in charge of the fight against food product scarcities; restructuring of TOGOGRAIN for the purpose of decentralizing its activities and rationalizing its methods of action and management; and strict regulation of food product marketing circuits: These are some of the measures that came out of the national seminar on the marketing of food products held in Lome on 6-7 August at the prompting of the president and founder of the RPT [Rally of the Togolese People] and president of the republic, Gen Gnassingbe Eyadema.

The some 1,200 delegates representing all social strata of the nation drew up the measures in order to ensure the people of a reliable supply of food, so dangerously threatened by speculators, "veritable fishermen in troubled waters who sabotage our policies through illegal trade benefiting only them."

The motions and resolutions presented Friday following the work of the seminar emphasize the policy of food self-sufficiency preached by President Eyadema, preservation of the spectacular growth in farm production registered since the 1977 appeal of the chief of state concerning the Green Revolution, and protection of the peasants against the speculators who are organized into a network aimed at depriving them of the fruits of their effort and economically subjugating our country.

According to the general report read at the closing session by Koffi Walla, member of the Central Committee and minister of commerce and transport, the delegates worked together on four committees: the committee in charge of production; the committee in charge of marketing problems; the special committee in charge of drafting motions of thanks, congratulations and support to the president and founder of the RPT; and the special committee for special agencies.

The chairman of the committee in charge of production was Voule Frititi, member of the Political Bureau, and its reporter was agronomist Houyengah.

The committee noted with satisfaction the beginning of the application of the recommendations of the last National Council meeting in Lome on 17-18 February 1981.

It then proceeded to analyze other aspects of production such as: the intensification of harness crops in order to reduce the cost of mechanizing crops; promotion of true precooperative and cooperative groups in order to arrive at actual organization for common use of agricultural equipment; and better diversification of food crops with special emphasis on crops that will supply vegetable protein.

The committee in charge of marketing problems was headed by Minister of Planning and Administrative Reform Dogo, member of the Political Bureau, and its reporter was Minister of Rural Development Gassou, member of the Central Committee.

The committee analyzed the following four points: 1) the financial problems and material means of TOGOGRAIN; 2) the position of the peasants with regard to production and supplies; 3) the responsibility of the merchant in marketing circuits; and 4) finally, the role and responsibility of regional political and administrative authorities with regard to the collection of products.

The special committee headed by member of the Political Bureau Malou had Adakanou Abalo, prefect of Tchaoudjo, as its reporter.

This committee was in charge of drafting a motion of congratulations, thanks, encouragement and support to the president and founder of the Rally of the Togolese People.

As for the committee on special agencies, it was headed by Minister of Interior Lacle, member of the Political Bureau, and its reporter was Gulf Prefect Dramani.

This committee was to study measures to be implemented: at the level of the administrative, local or regional authorities, particularly prefects and subprefects and canton leaders; at the level of the regional sections of the leading wings; and finally, at the level of the special agencies, particularly the FAT [Togolese Armed Forces], the gendarmerie, Customs and the police, in order to halt the drain of our food products to other countries and to find those who hoard products in order to make them scarce on the local market.

Recommendations on Food Production

Lome LA NOUVELLE MARCHE in French 10 Aug 81 p 3

[Text] At the closing session, Friday, of the national seminar on the marketing of food products, important measures were taken in order to oversee the commerce of our food commodities. Particular emphasis was placed on increasing the area under cultivation and an increase in yields per unit of land cultivated.

With regard to food production, the seminar recommends the following:

Considering the creation of companies to take action in agriculture;

Considering the existence of agricultural development projects in rural areas;

Considering that food self-sufficiency aims to help the Togolese people to produce a sufficient quantity of quality food products in a stable manner, despite any contingencies;

Considering that grain production, particularly corn and sorghum-millet, comes close to meeting the needs of the population;

Considering that progress in the production of tubers is satisfactory;

Considering that any outside action disturbs this balance and causes prices to spiral on local markets;

Considering that agricultural production depends on climatic contingencies;

Considering that in connection with agricultural development, research in agriculture must develop techniques making it possible to increase the production of different crops, to wit: the development of highly productive varieties adapted to the taste of the consumer and resistant to disease and drought; the development of growing techniques enabling these select varieties to fulfill their potential; and the development of techniques to protect plants and food products stored;

Considering that along with improved staffing and an increase in personnel, the rural world must be organized into producer groups; and

Considering that the government is making a praiseworthy effort for the creation of developed sites:

The seminar recommends:

1) direct production ensured by government agencies in charge of organizing the rural world. In this connection, it is necessary to provide them with adequate means for purchasing the factors of production as well as doing the development work needed.

2) an intensification of actions aimed at increasing the amount of land in cultivation and improving yields; the creation of research stations, laboratories and necessary equipment making it possible to find highly productive seed varieties responding to the tastes of the consumer; and

3) improving peasant production, which accounts for over 90 percent of all national production, by:

a) the application of community development procedures consisting of providing effective aid for peasants with respect to training and equipment for their self-development;

b) a better appreciation of production tastes of the main food crops, particularly corn and sorghum-millet in the major production areas;

c) the promotion of cooperative methods of production;

d) an intensification of the rigorous application of techniques making it possible to increase yields for plant production;

e) the secularization of production by mastery;

- f) a substantial reduction in losses before and after harvesting by improving the peasants' storage systems;
- g) a diversification of food crops in all areas;
- h) an intensification of harness crops;
- i) participation of merchants of agricultural products in food production; and
- j) cultivation of developed areas to the maximum extent by producer cooperatives.

Recommendations on Marketing

Lome LA NOUVELLE MARCHE in French 8 Aug 81 p 3

[Text] Considering the recommendations of previous national councils and seminars on agricultural production;

Considering the appeal of the president and founder of the RPT concerning the Green Revolution;

Considering that the spectacular increase in agricultural production registered since this appeal is not only due to the effects of the peasant masses, but also to the numerous measures taken by the government;

Considering the unprecedented financial and material effort made by the government to implement measures promoting agricultural production (subsidies for means of production, fertilizer, insecticides);

Considering the role assigned to TOGOGRAIN in the search for national food self-sufficiency, a role it can play fully only with the aid of production structures, on the one hand, and the collection and distribution structures, on the other;

Considering that lacking adequate means and rational organization, TOGOGRAIN has been unable, since its creation, to yield satisfactory results; and

Considering the serious danger that speculation on food products represents for the food situation of the Togolese citizen;

The seminar recommends:

Concerning TOGOGRAIN

- 1) reorganization of TOGOGRAIN structures in order to decentralize its activities and rationalize its methods of action and management; and
- 2) the establishment of annual storage objectives for TOGOGRAIN in keeping with its means. For this year, that goal is 6,000 tons.

Concerning Merchants

- 1) effective measures to fight speculation with food products in all forms; and
- 2) strict regulation of food products commerce in order to simplify circuits and make methods honest.

Concerning Peasants

- 1) the establishment, at the producer level, of stock needed to provide them with a reliable food supply; and
- 2) greater awareness on the part of peasants of the essentially national role which TOGOGRAIN plays, benefiting the entire population.

For this purpose, a general campaign must be waged by all authorities: local (village and canton leaders); administrative authorities (prefects, department heads) and political authorities (members of party central and regional organs).

The same campaign must be waged by the same authorities with merchants in order to inform them of the policy of food self-sufficiency, their respective role and that of TOGOGRAIN, in order to bring them into perfect cooperation and eliminate speculation and the illegal export of food products.

Political and Administrative Authorities

- 1) an intensification of all action aimed at maintaining, at all times and in all places, national food provisions at a high level; and
- 2) a contribution by government organizations in charge of production in order to enable TOGOGRAIN to reach the objectives assigned to it.

Warning to Speculators

Lome LA NOUVELLE MARCHE in French 21 Aug 81 pp 1, 4

[Text] The awareness campaign for the marketing of food products which we launched with the closing of the seminar on 6 August is beginning to bear fruit.

The standard price of corn, which was 300 francs before the seminar, has dropped to 150 and even 100 francs in Lome and certain regions of the country.

The series of measures drawn up by the seminar and the collective discipline that we observe here and there make it possible to hope that the feeling of national solidarity will triumph over the selfishness of certain individuals and that in the course of this campaign, we shall succeed in stocking enough grain to protect the people from scarcities.

This campaign is a wager and every individual must assume his responsibility so that the fruit of the work of the Togolese people will mainly benefit the Togolese.

However, in the past few days, we have learned that the wives of some high officials still engage in speculation, hoarding considerable quantities of food products before selling them illegally abroad, by entire containers, with the complicity of customs and foreign trade officials.

The government reminds everyone that the measures taken at the seminar on the marketing of food products will be strictly applied and will spare no one. The government will vigorously punish any Togolese guilty of speculating with food products, whether he be a member of the Political Bureau, the Central Committee, a high- or low-ranking officer, chief of staff, general director, general administrative employee or individual from the private sector.

The government appeals to the national solidarity and civic sense of every citizen to cease the fraudulent practices that destroy the collective effort and undermine the foundations of our policy of food self-sufficiency.

We are counting on the people's vigilance to denounce all those who engage in speculation on food products.

This year, grain harvests look good. The hope aroused by this season is immense. We must do everything possible to make it a success.

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BRIEFS

FRENCH AID AGREEMENTS--At the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation in Lome yesterday morning, Anani Kuma Akakpo-Ahianyo, member of the Political Bureau and minister of foreign affairs and cooperation, and Jean-Marc Voelckel, French ambassador to Togo, signed two financing agreements for a total sum of 332.05 million CFA francs. The agreements concern forestry development and industrial reforestation (first installment), support for the training of instructors (third installment) and the setting up of the National Pedagogical Institute in Lome. [Excerpt] [Lome LA NOUVELLE MARCHE in French 21 Aug 81 p 1] 11,464

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